

CHINA AND BURMA INTERPRETED

**BY
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To

TAN YUN-SHAN

Servant

of

God and Humanity

ONE FAMILY, ONE WORLD

CONFUCIUS

9 - JAN

己所不欲勿施於人

思知人不可不知天



像真聖孔刻石懸臯曲阜

China's Greatest Teacher

"At fifteen I determined to learn. At thirty I established myself. At forty I had no delusions. At fifty I knew the Will of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth."

Gems from Confucius

The superior man is catholic and not partisan. The mean man is a partisan and not catholic. A superior man helps the distressed, but does not add to the wealth of the rich.

* * *

When a country is well-governed, poverty and mean conditions are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill-governed, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of.

* * *

The requisites of Governments are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment and the confidence of the people in their ruler. If the people have plenty, their ruler will not be left to wants alone. If the people are in want, the ruler cannot enjoy plenty alone. Be laborious in people's affairs and enrich them.

* * *

Good Government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted.

* * *

To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away.

* * *

When right principles prevail in the kingdom,
there will be no discussions among the common
people.

* * *

By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice,
they get to be wide apart.

* * *

There is a great course also for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient.

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INTRODUCTION

BY

Dr. Wen Yuan-Ning, M.A., LL.D.

{Professor at the Peking National University and Editor-in-Chief of the Monthly Cultural Magazine *Tian Hsia*; Member of the Legislative Yuan, National Government of China, Delegate to the National Assembly and Delegate to the Asian Relations Conference.]

Mr. V. G. Nair, who is known to me for a number of years, is an enthusiastic and ardent worker in the cause of Sino-Indian cultural understanding. I am glad that he is now bringing out a book with the above end in view, and I hope that it will be useful in understanding China.

Mr. Nair has undoubtedly gone through a vast amount of literature on China for the purpose of writing this book. I wish him success in his endeavour of strengthening cordial relations between China and India.

Dated 4th April, 1947,
CONSTITUTION HOUSE,
NEW DELHI } }

PREFACE

The contents of this book (with the exception of the article entitled 'The Historical Pattern of Chinese Unity', reprinted here from the *China Monthly*, New York) were all contributed by me to different journals of India. Among them are also four unpublished articles, namely (1) Hsuang-Tsang ; (2) South India's Relations with China ; (3) Life and career of Chiang Kai-Shek and Political Parties in China, which I prepared for the press.

The views expressed in these articles are my own and they do not in any way represent the views of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India at Santiniketan with which I am associated. I publish this book in my own right as a worker for the cause of Sino-Indian understanding and therefore, I hold myself solely responsible for its publication.

My qualification to interpret China and Burma is my constant contact with the enlightened public of these two great countries covering over a period of twelve years. During this time I have been connected with the Press in

Burma, the Burma-China Cultural Association, the Chinese Ministry of Information and now with the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India.

The civilisation of China is the oldest of the world. We are indebted to her for many benefits in our march towards human progress. The Mariner's Compass, the Art of Engraving, Moulding of Coins, Bank Notes, Gun Powder, Printing, the Sun-dial, Prohibition, the System of Competitive Examinations for Civil Service were all introduced by the Chinese in the dawn of civilisation. The Chinese were the pioneers in the manufacture of porcelain and silk. They published books 500 years before Caxton. The world is greatly indebted to China for Tea which is of Chinese origin. The word '*Cha*' itself is Chinese. China preached State Socialism before Marx gave us the theories of Class Struggle and Scientific Socialism. China is the first nation to elevate the woman and give her an honourable social status. But with all her great contributions towards the advancement of civilisation, her benevolent qualities are unfortunately misunderstood among the civilised nations. She is also treated with contempt in certain quarters of the world. In spite of India's relationship with

her for two-thousand years, she still remains a puzzle to many of us.

'Action is easy, understanding difficult' was one of the favourite sayings of Sun Yat-Sen. Therefore, if the study of this small book, would help friends to know better and assist them in removing the difficulties in understanding China and Burma, the writer will be amply rewarded for his labour.

I am neither a scholar nor a Sinalogue, but only an interested student of Chinese affairs. For all my information, I am indebted to well-known American, Chinese, English and Indian Authors and also to cultural and political leaders of China and Burma, with whom I had the privilege of coming into close contact during the past few years.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the distinguished editors of different Journals in India for publishing my contributions. But for their kind encouragement this humble work of mine could not have seen the light of day. Their encouragement is a source of inspiration to me. I am also grateful to them for their generosity

in allowing me to reprint my articles in this book.

Finally I wish to express my thanks to my numerous friends in Madras who assisted me in bringing out this publication.

MADRAS,
4th April, 1947 }

V. G. NAIR

An Appreciation

FROM

*U Ba Lwin, Ex-Deputy-President, Burma Senate,
and Leader, Goodwill Missions to China,
India and Indonesia.*

Mr. V. G. Nair comes of a respectable family and he is a journalist of standing and repute. As editor of the 'Moulmein Advertiser', the oldest paper in Burma, he has been able to maintain a high standard and the old traditions of the journal. He has always evinced very keen interest in the welfare of Burma and the sons of the soil. His high sense of duty and responsibility, his independent views, his courage of conviction and spirit of service should earn him the gratitude of the people of Burma. I have been greatly impressed with his broad outlook and catholicity of views on all matters relating to Burma. He appears to be a polished and cultured man and I am grateful to him for his services in espousing the cause of cultural relations between Burma and India and Burma and China.

I consider that Mr. Nair is fearlessly performing his duties as a leader of public opinion in

Burma and he therefore deserves our encouragement and support. My fervent prayer is that he may long continue to serve the country and her people in this honourable and responsible capacity.

(Sd.) U. B. LWIN, B.A., F.R.C.S.,
President,

Burma-China Cultural Association
and
Principal, Myoma National High School.

RANGOON,
20-6-1940.

Tan Yun-Shan

In the galaxy of eminent Chinese which the Han race has produced during its long history of Sino-Indian relations commencing from the first century A.D. onwards, Tan Yun-Shan, collaborator with Gurudev Tagore in inaugurating the Sino-Indian Cultural Society of India, and Founder-Director of Cheenabhavana, the Department of Sino-Indian cultural studies in Visvabharati, occupies the foremost place in the present generation. Tan Yun-Shan is not only an erudite scholar and Buddhist philosopher widely known in his country, but he is also the twentieth century's standard-bearer of Fa-Hien, Hsuan-Tsang and I-Tsing, the three celebrated Chinese Buddhist monks, who were the pioneers in the field of Sino-Indian cultural co-operation, and who first blazed the trail into India across the Himalayas to realise this objective, followed by the exchange of pilgrims and scholars between the two greatest countries of Asia. Tan Yun-Shan can be rightly called the Hsuan-Tsang of Modern China, for it is he who is responsible for reviving the broken cultural bonds of India and China after an interregnum of nearly one thousand years. Unlike Hsuan-Tsang, who came to India to learn and carry her wealth of learning and philosophy for utilising them to the benefit of his countrymen, Tan Yun-Shan not only drank deep into the mysteries of Indian culture from

the archives of the Visvabharati, but like a true Confucian, imbued with the thoughts of benevolence and charity, he made India his second home, and settled down at Santiniketan for teaching Indians the glories of Chinese culture and civilisation. What the celebrated Chinese mystic-philosopher Lin Yu-Tang has done in America for the cause of the Chinese people, their culture and civilisation, Tan Yun-Shan has done on Indian soil. An ardent Buddhist scholar of rare merit, deeply religious, unassuming and silent, he represents all that is best in Chinese civilisation. The Poet's bosom friend, collaborator, disciple and co-worker, Tan Yun-Shan is not a visionary, but a man of action. He is undoubtedly the most fascinating personality to-day in Visvabharati. He is still in the vigour of youth and has many years of active service before him.

It was by accident that Tan Yun-Shan came to India. Gurudev Tagore discovered him in Malaya in 1927, just three years after his historic cultural mission to China. Inspired with Gurudev's message of achieving world peace through international co-operation, Tan Yun-Shan came to Santiniketan in 1928 and took up cultural studies among such intellectuals and stalwarts as Abanindranath Tagore, Vidy Shekhara Sastri, Kshitimohan Sen, C. F. Andrews and Nandalal Bose. After a few years, the idea struck Gurudev and Tan Yun-Shan to organise a permanent institute in Visvabharati which should serve as a nucleus for the interchange of students.

and professors between India and China. With this object, Tan Yun-Shan visited China in 1931, to acquaint his countrymen with the ideals of the Visvabharati and appealed to them to support the movement of Sino-Indian cultural co-operation. The response to the call was good; and the Sino-Indian Cultural Society was initiated by him in Nanking in 1933. He returned to India the next year and in collaboration with Gurudev Tagore, the Sino-Indian Cultural Society was organised in 1934. The Cheenabhavana, with its imposing building and huge library, which is considered to be the biggest in the whole of Asia, outside China, came into existence at Santiniketan in 1937.

But it should not be forgotten that the idea of starting a permanent department for Sino-Indian cultural studies in Visvabharati was first broached by Tagore while he was lecturing in China in 1924. Some preliminary arrangements were made for the exchange of scholars and professors but owing to unexpected political happenings in China, these proposals failed to materialise.

Of Cheenabhavana and the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, much has been written and published during all these years. Suffice it to say that both these institutions have the sympathy and active support of political and cultural leaders of India and China such as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Sarojini Naidu

Radhakrishnan, Aurobindo Ghose, Generalissimo Chiang and his worthy consort, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, Dr. H. H. Kung, venerable Tai Shu and others. The National Government of China has endowed five scholarships for studies in Chinese history, philosophy, religion, language and culture through Visvabharati-Cheenabhavana. The scholarships have been split into one senior fellowship, two junior fellowships, two research scholarships and four ordinary scholarships. The fellows and scholars have carried on studies and research to prepare commentaries and translations of Chinese Buddhistic volumes as restoration works of old Chinese translations from original Sanskrit which are lost and obsolete. The researches are carried on under the direction of Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, who has accepted the Senior Fellowship of the Cheenabhavana. He is assisted by Dr. P. V. Bapat, Professor of Fergusson College, Poona, and Pandit Aiyaswami Sastri of Tirupati.

Tan Yun-Shan, who is mainly responsible for this great achievement within a short span of time, was born in the province of Hunan in 1900, in a distinguished family of scholars. Before coming to India, he devoted himself to several years of vigilant study on Chinese classical literature and philosophy. If he had settled in China, there is no doubt that he would have proved a valuable asset to the ranks of public men of that

country ; but China's loss has been the gain of India. Though he is confined to Bengal, he is not parochial. He has presided over several cultural and educational conferences in various parts of India.

Tan Yun-Shan is essentially a man of peace. He is not an orator, but he is gifted with the power of expressing his views in a simple and straightforward way which always captures the imagination of his audiences. He is not a prolific writer, but he likes writing to the Press whenever time permits him to do so. He has contributed several articles to Indian journals and periodicals, some of which have been published in book form under the title of "India, China and the War". Of his publications in English and Chinese, noteworthy are his speeches on the political, historic, social and religious evolution of China delivered by him at the Andhra University, which are now published by Kitabistan under the title of "Modern China". Among his several Chinese works, the most significant are his "Gandhiji's Hind Swaraj", "Saint-Philosopher Gandhi", and "Poet-Saint Tagore", all of which had a popular reception in China.

He is simple in habits. He never smokes and eats only meagre food. Always an early-riser, he could be seen in his study amidst his voluminous books. Sometimes, a distinguished scholar, or cultural leader from the remotest part of India or from some foreign country, steps in

for a discussion on Cunfucian classics, Lao-Tse's philosophy, or on the intricacies of Chinese metaphysics. He satisfies his hearers with his sober arguments. Polite in conversation, he makes an unforgettable impression in the minds of those with whom he comes into daily contact.

He is well-versed in Yoga philosophy and practises the Asanas daily in the early dawn. He observes Wednesday as his day of silence.

The life-work of this "Chinese Mahatma", as some of his numerous disciples and admirers lovingly address him, is centred round Sino-Indian cultural co-operation. In the realisation of this great ideal, he foresees a Greater India and a Greater China, rejuvenated and united in common bonds of fellowship and love, the forces of which, he believes, will undoubtedly contribute to a larger extent towards the making of a new world of peace and security.

In the course of a message, Mahatmaji once described the Chinese Hall in Visvabharati as the "symbol of the living contact between India and China . . ." Looking at Tan Yun-Shan, one could rightly say that he symbolises Mahatmaji's ideal of that 'living contact' in the human form which is so rare a phenomenon to witness either in China, India or in any part of Asia.

A great legacy has been left to the world by Gurudev Tagore, in flesh and bones, in Tan Yun-Shan, the Chinese savant of Visvabharati.

II

The Chinese Community of Burma

Among the important communities which have played a conspicuous role in the making of British Burma is the Chinese community. Before Japanese occupation, this community numbered about two lakhs. They were scattered throughout the country. They were of two classes, the permanent settlers and the later-day immigrants. The earlier settlers had so completely identified themselves with the Burmese people that in certain parts they were indistinguishable from the Burmese. Most of them were unacquainted with the Chinese language and have not even seen the land of their ancestors. They have adopted Burmese ways of living. They have intermarried freely with the Burmese and even adopted Burmese names and costumes. The majority of them professed the Buddhist and Confucian religions, though there were a sprinkling of Christians and Muslims. They took part in all the religious and national festivals of the Burmese and donated great sums to build monasteries and educational institutions. Some of their leaders have earned the title of Dayakas and were held in high esteem by the Burmese. Their relationship with the Burmese were so cordial that they were known as Paukpaw (companion of the same womb) and Pyigyitha (sons of the Big Country) namely, China.

The Chinese of Burma, including the later-day immigrants, were mostly traders. They handled the export trade. The internal trade was also mostly in their hands. Besides owning big rice mills, tin mines, rubber plantations and timber forests, they managed the excise shops and pawnshops. Their interests in Burma are, no doubt, vast, varied and intricate.

About their earlier history, it is recorded that they entered Burma by mule tracks known as the Silk Road which connected China with the outer-world before sea-routes were opened for international traffic. They traded mostly in China Silk and tea and exported raw cotton and yarn to Yunnan. As the Silk Road was opened about two thousand years ago, the earlier immigrants must have arrived in Burma during that period. The Shans of Burma were of Chinese origin. There is evidence to show that Chinese influence in Burma began from the beginning of the Christian era.

Writing about the Chinese, Major Enriquez, in his book *A Burmese Wonderland*, says : "The influence of China at work in Burma is immense. Without ostentation the Chinese come, marry and conquer and their absorbing power on a Mongol race like the Burmese is remarkable. The completeness of their peaceful victory is hardly recognised until it is accomplished. In this lies salvation for Burma. The silent work of these Chinese is vastly more far-reaching than

that of Indians. They have associated themselves intimately with the people. They are in harmony with the sentiments and religion of the country. Their family and political loyalty is a good example, and they have built up wealth and credit by honest trade. The Chinese, with their singleness of purpose, their diligence and their thrift, supplied those very qualities which the Burmese lack." Though the Chinese have received encomiums from well-known British administrators and are credited for their remarkable contributions towards the making of British Burma, they have not claimed any special privileges to safeguard their vested interests. In fact, they have no special interests as they had completely allied themselves with the Burmese. They had neither special seats in the Burma Legislatures like the other communities, nor had they demanded any separate electorates. Chinese representatives to the Legislatures were returned from the General Constituencies. Such was the trust the Burmese placed on the Chinese of Burma. Two Chinese gentlemen were Ministers under the Crown and several officials of pre-war Burma were Chinese and of Chinese origin. There was absolutely no clash of interests between the Chinese and the indigenous races. They were considered not as aliens but sons of the same soil.

III

Visvabharati-Cheenabhavana

Cheenabhavana, the department of Sino-Indian Cultural studies at Visvabharati, in Santiniketan, conducted under the auspices of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India, is one of the greatest heritages bequeathed to the world by Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore of revered memory. It was the avowed aim of the Gurudeva to facilitate the growth of Sino-Indian cultural studies through the Cheenabhavana, by providing scholarships to Chinese and Indian students and also by the interchange of scholars and professors between India and China.

Further, it is the cardinal aim of the Society and the Cheenabhavana to work for universal peace and internationalism. It has nothing to do with any other movement, either political, economic or social. Since the inception of the Cheenabhavana it has trained several Chinese and Indian students under distinguished professors of both the countries.

The library at Cheenabhavana is not only magnificent and unique in India, but it is also the biggest Chinese library outside China. The Institute is located in a spacious two-storeyed building with two wings used as students' quarters on its both sides. The building is donated by leaders of the Chinese community, irrespective of political parties. But its existence is mainly

due to the munificence of Generalissimo Chiang, his worthy consort and His Excellency Tai Chi-Tao, President of the Examination Yuan of the National Government of China.

The main work of the Cheenabhavana is Sino-Indian studies and research on cultural problems. The Chinese Government have provided scholarships to several Indian and Chinese students and also endowed large funds to maintain the professors and the staff of the Institute. Provision has been made for language studies including Chinese, Indian and Tibetan. Besides, studies on world religions and the restoration of lost Sanskrit works, translations from Chinese and Tibetan scriptures into the Indian languages are also conducted.

Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo Ghose, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are the honorary presidents of the Society in India. China being Panditji's favourite problem, he is keenly interested in the advancement of the Cheenabhavana for the realization of its noble objectives. Presiding over the last annual general meeting of the Society in Santiniketan, Panditji said that in the future, India and China would necessarily come nearer to each other. "It seems inevitable," remarked Panditji, "that India and China and some other countries of South-East Asia will have to hang together and develop together, not only culturally, but economically as well, through the contacts of trade and

commerce." Panditji hoped that the Society would prove useful in effecting still closer relations and better understanding, not only between India and China, but also among all the remaining countries of Asia.

President Tai Chi-Tao, the great patron of the Society, is a renowned Buddhist scholar of China. He is an ardent and enthusiastic supporter of the cause of Sino-Indian cultural collaboration. He was a colleague and co-worker of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic. He was one of the noted revolutionary leaders, who overthrew the Manchu dynasty. He is the best orator in China today. Educated in Japan, he is well-versed in the Japanese language. Tai Chi-Tao has published several books on politics and religion including poetical works. As a poet and writer, he is famous throughout China and among the Chinese overseas. He is the Chairman of the Supervisory Board of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in China, since its inception. At present, the Society's headquarters are at Nanking. Being an ardent admirer of Gurudev Tagore, and a firm believer in his message of universal brotherhood or divine love, which the Chinese call "Tatung", first preached by Confucius some two thousand five hundred years ago, Tai Chi-Tao* paid a visit to Santiniketan in

* For the detailed life story of Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, read the biographical sketch written by Prof. Tan Yun-Shan in the pamphlet entitled "On Cultural Relations between India and China" by Dr. Tai Chi-Tao recently issued by the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India at Santiniketan, Bengal.

December, 1941, as leader of the Chinese Good-will Mission to India. During his stay in Santiniketan, he was the guest of Gurudev Tagore.

Professor Tan Yun-Shan, the well-known Chinese savant and thinker, reputed for his learning, is the organiser of the Society in India. He is also the founder director of the Cheenabhavana. Under his leadership, the society has lately organised a publicity department. The Society has brought out several pamphlets and publications on China. Besides meeting the ever-increasing enquiries of the Indian public regarding China, the Society has decided to publish a periodical with the aim of further strengthening the existing cordial relations between India and China.

Sri Rathindranath Tagore, the worthy son of the late Gurudeva, is the honorary general secretary of the Society, besides Tan Yun-Shan, its organiser. He takes abiding interest in the Society's activities. It is his cherished desire to fulfil his father's noble life mission, so that India and China may jointly contribute towards peace and solidarity among the different nations and communities of the world.

IV

Fundamentals of Chinese Nationalism

Among the different systems of political science that shape the destinies of mankind, the most significant thought representing the ancient wisdom of China, strikingly vehement for its universal appeal against the evil forces of exploitation, slavery and injustice, and for its staunch advocacy of human rights and freedom, is the *San Min Chu I*, the Three Principles of the People, formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic. With the exception of *Capital* written by Karl Marx, which has revolutionised human thought for reconstructing the world entirely on new economic and social foundations, no other political message of the present century has been so ardently read and followed by the nationals of any country more than the *San Min Chu I*, which is adhered to by people numbering one-fourth of the total population of the world.

The first principle of the *San Min Chu I*, is Nationalism, which in the early stage of the Chinese revolution stressed for the overthrow of warlordism and foreign Imperialistic exploitation. In the international sphere, it demanded the freedom of all the nations of the world, freedom from political tyranny and freedom from poverty and economic exploitation.

The second principle is Democracy. In this connection is considered political tutelage for China during the period of transition beginning from the attainment of full national rights, up to the time of introducing a Democratic form of Government. It aims to train the Chinese in the art of self-government. To give China a free democratic government, Dr. Sun advocated a Five-Power Constitution, which he distinguished by two sets of powers exercised separately by the people and the government. The first set comprises the four democratic rights of Election, Recall, Initiative and Referendum; and the second set includes the five functional powers of Executive, Legislative, Judiciary, Examination and Control. These five functional powers constitute the Central Government of China.

The third principle of Livelihood or Economic Democracy aims to provide food, shelter, clothing and the means of travel. Equalisation of landownership and regulation of capital are its cardinal principles. It advocates evolutionary methods rather than revolutionary means of effecting reforms in the social and economic life of China. In other words, the Principle of Livelihood is a planned economy which purposes to control and operate all large-scale industrial enterprises and aims at the national ownership of all lands, all means of production, all communications, all transport and the public sale of food.

In other words, the objective of the *San Min Chu I*, is the fulfilment of the three phases of the

Chinese revolution : first, Political Unity of China by uprooting warlordism and national independence by racial struggle against Imperialist domination, such as extra-territorial rights, leased territories, concessions and unequal treaties ; secondly, Political Tutelage or Provisional Party Rule under the Kuomintang ; and thirdly, the introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government.

The aim of the first principle of Nationalism has been partially realised by China through the brilliant military victories gained by Generalissimo Chiang over warlords, and through the abrogation of all unequal treaties except that of Hongkong. Chinese leaders are demanding that Britain should restore this Island to China. With the restoration of Manchuria, Korea, and Mongolia, China will regain her lost possessions, and will assure fully her territorial sovereign rights. Besides, the Communist problem is the most vital aspect of China's national life. But with the armistice agreement concluded between the National Government and the Communists in January, 1946, followed by the Agreement for military reorganisation and for the integration of the Communists into the National Army signed in February, 1946, through the intervention of General George Marshall, United States' Special Envoy, the eighteen years' civil strife in China is expected to come to an end.* The first principle

* But since writing this article, negotiations broke off and Civil War is now raging in China.

could not be fully realised until the Communist problem is settled in the interest of internal peace.

The second principle is Democracy. Political Tutelage is not yet over in China. Therefore, the present Chinese Government cannot be called a Democracy. It is bureaucracy marching towards the goal of self-government. Until Democracy is introduced, the Kuomintang will act as the 'trustee' and 'tutor' of the Chinese people, and it will cease to exist as the ruling party of China as soon as the Democratic Government is introduced by convoking the National Assembly.

The third principle of the People's Livelihood, according to Dr. Sun, is of primary importance to China. But unfortunately, it has created the Communist problem, culminating in ten years' civil war with the consequent loss of millions of lives. The People's Livelihood, Dr. Sun defined, is economic equality, which the Chinese Communists claim as the essence of Russian Bolshevism. Though the essence is one, the fundamental difference lies in the methods of achieving its objectives. No less a person than Dr. Sun Fo in his book *China Looks Forward* says: "The principle of People's Livelihood is not in conflict with Russian Communism and is not opposed to the theory of Communism." Yet, the difference between Communism and Sun Yat-Senism lies in the practical application of its

principles, inasmuch as the former adopts revolutionary means, while the latter desires evolutionary methods in effecting economic and social reform in China.

The Chinese Communists worship Marx and Lenin as their national heroes and look to Moscow as their holy of holies. It was only after the truce in 1937 that the Communists began exhibiting the pictures of Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Kai-Shek at Yennan along with those of Lenin and Stalin. Since that eventful year has begun the process of absorption of Russian Communism within the folds of Sun Yat-Senism, because the Reds had to give up their policy of forcible land-confiscation and the Soviet emblem on their soldiers' headgear. Their Army was renamed as the Eighteenth Route Army and their Soviet areas were converted as Special areas under the Central Government, though these Special areas were given local autonomy.

Absorption rather than self-conversion has been the past history of China in all her dealings with foreign political and religious institutions. Bertrand Russell in his *Problem of China* says :

“ The Chinese think not in decades, but in centuries. They have been conquered before-first by the Tartars and then by the Manchus but in both cases they absorbed the conquerors. Since the days of Confucius, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman

Empires have perished ; but China has persisted through a continuous evolution. There have been foreign influences—first Buddhism, and now Western Science. But Buddhism did not turn the Chinese into Indians, and Western Science will not turn them into Europeans."

In further support of Bertrand Russell, China's intellectual giant, witty and wise Dr. Lin Yu-Tang says prophetically in his book, *The Vigil of a Nation* as follows :

"There is a bout going now inside China between Master Kung and Karl Marx, and my bet is that Master Kung will win. Time will settle that, not words, and I can imagine that twenty years from now, the ardent Communist advocates will become as pro-Confucian and as desirous of having roots in one's own racial and historical traditions."

Past events in China undoubtedly foretell this end. If the Communist-Kuomintang negotiations succeed, it will be the last phase of Bolshevik Marxism in China.

The Chinese Communists no doubt consider Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as a great leader of China. But they respect his person far more than his precepts. In a sense, they are 'democratic', but only in relation to the rights of peasants and labourers. They are vociferous now in their demands to introduce Democracy and the Principle of People's Livelihood in the Chungking

administered Provinces. But like the past, they do not desire revolutionary methods in effecting such reforms since they have decided to join hands with the Kuomintang.* With the convocation of the National Assembly and the inauguration of the new Constitution, the old revolutionary methods of the Communists for realising the aims of People's Livelihood through forcible land-confiscation, wholesale murder of landlords, insurrections and sabotage, all copied from the Russian model, will become a shadow of the past. These violent methods are diametrically opposed to the methods prescribed by Sun Yat-Sen. According to him, China's moral code of loyalty, filial piety, kindness, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony and peace, all these should be revived if China desires national salvation and her former greatness. Marxism cannot provide China with these forces, and only Confucianism and Sun Yat-Senism could.

Long before Communism was preached by Marx, Universalism in all spheres of life, political, economic, and social, was preached in China by Chinese sages thousands of years ago. It is called 'Ta Tung', the ideal of universal brotherhood and commonwealth of all free nations. Here is Dr. Sun's favourite quotation from Confucius on 'Ta Tung', which he proclaimed

*At present, they, no doubt, stand apart, but the future is full of potentialities to make them join hands on a permanent understanding.

to the world for the first time at a memorable meeting held at Tokyo in 1907 :

“When the great (*tao*) way prevails, the world is a common State. Although not to be thrown away, wealth is not to be kept as personal property. While not to be idle, labour is not to be used for personal advantage. Under such a scheme of Society, selfish plans cease to exist and banditry and rebellion cannot rise. This is the Age of the great Commonwealth.”

The ideal of Confucius, no doubt, is a classless society. He wanted to form this society without upheavals and revolutions. And therefore, in its political aspect Sun Yat-Senism is nothing but Confucianism.

In formulating his Three Principles of the People Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was influenced by the political philosophies of the West, particularly Marx's writings on Socialism and Communism, the history of the American Republic and the French revolutionary motto of “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity”; but it is an admitted fact that he has not copied any one of the European systems, and that his *San Min Chu I* with its Five Power Constitution is remarkably original in its conception. Curiously enough, both Dr. Sun and Marx evolved their theories after several years' study in the British Museum Library in London, but they had never met each other, as the latter died in 1883, while the former commenced his political career in 1896. Appa-

rently, Dr. Sun was not content with Marx's scientific theories of 'value and surplus value', the class struggle, and the overthrow of capitalism with the help of such weapons as sabotage and insurrection. He therefore evolved his own theories suitable to the Chinese temperament, social conditions, culture and civilization. In comparing Marx with himself Dr. Sun regarded the former as a pathologist and himself as a physiologist. And therefore, Dr. Sun asserted that Marxism would not be suitable to the Chinese soil. Yet, he relied much on Russian help for realising the aims of the Revolution. But in such help being given to China, Dr. Sun never anticipated that Russia would manœuvre to create a State within a State in China, as seen in the Border Regions, Manchuria, Sinkiang, and Outer Mongolia. Discussing Sino-Soviet relations, Mr. Stanley Powell, the well-known author of *Soviet Attitude Towards China : Facts and Facts*, has made the following observations :

"The Chinese Communists are allegedly independent of Moscow, so they say, but they have adopted, in the Chinese internal policy, the methods applied by the Communist parties elsewhere, that means the methods of struggling for 'total democracy' and 'friendship' with the Soviet Union, which allows them to criticize or to oppose or even to fight the Governments of the respective countries, unless the latter recognise the Soviet leadership or accept to be their tools ; while in foreign policy the Chinese Communists

take a stand not only for a close collaboration with Russia—which could still be understandable—but also for the adoption, by China, of the principles guiding the Soviet foreign relations, including their tactics and propaganda, the latter at least in its official form.”*

It is needless to say that in spite of their “democratic principles” the Chinese Communists have proved the greatest stumbling block to the peaceful and gradual introduction of a Constitutional Democratic Government in China.

Since 1937, Generalissimo Chiang has been persistently trying to reach a settlement with the Chinese Communists, in spite of the fact that Dr. Sun has clearly laid down in his *General Principles for National Reconstruction*, adopted at the First Kuomintang National Congress, held in Canton during January, 1924, that—

“The Government shall use military force to remove all obstacles within the Nation; and shall preach the principles of the Revolution to the people of the whole Nation.”

However, by the word, ‘use of military force’, it is generally accepted that Dr. Sun had

* Tang Leang-Li, an uncompromising critic of Chiang Kai-Shek during the early days of the Chinese Revolution, in his memorable work *The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution*, says that the Chinese Communists are fighting white Imperialism, namely, the Rightist Group led by Chiang Kai-Shek within the Kuomintang, solely for bringing China under Russian Imperialism.

never visualised the idea of waging war against his own countrymen, as the birth of Communist State in China was as remote as the north pole during his days. Grasping this truth, Generalissimo Chiang's tolerance and liberality towards the Chinese Communists need no further mentioning here as they are too well-known.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, no doubt, believed that Russia would stand as his Government's ally, and not as the instigator and creator of a Soviet State in his country. His famous letter to Soviet friends, written before his death, is clearly vouchsafed in the spirit of looking to Russia as a liberator and friend, for it says :

“Russia is the leader and vanguard of that grand union of free republics which look to the future and the great federation of Nations is truly the priceless heritage bequeathed to all oppressed peoples by the immortal Lenin.”

Dr. Sun, therefore, adds :

“He leaves behind him the Kuomintang Party, which shall co-operate with the Soviets for the realisation of his political ideals.”

In the early days of his career Dr. Sun had appealed to foreign Powers for economic aid and assistance, but none came forward to help him. At last Soviet Russia, in her own interests, declared her policy of co-operation and friendship with the National Government and renounced her

extra-territorial rights. Borodin and Blucher were deputed to China for training the Nationalist Armies and the Kuomintang Party. As a gesture of goodwill Dr. Sun admitted the Communists within the fold of the Kuomintang and encouraged them to work for the National revolution. But the Communist-Kuomintang co-operation did not last long. After the death of Sun Yat-Sen, Generalissimo Chiang assumed the supreme military and political power in 1927. He began to realise the peril of China being transformed into a Soviet State within the political orbit of Russia. Borodin, the high-priest of Communism in China, was, therefore, expelled and his adherents were driven out to the Border Region in the North-West. This episode has been well advertised for the Reds by Edgar Snow, in his *Red Star Over China*. But Stanley Powell tells us a different story. He says:

“The defeated Red Army made to Chiang Kai-Shek the offer to withdraw from South-Eastern China and to proceed to the thinly populated province of Kansu in Western China, almost at the other end of the country. Chiang Kai-Shek accepted the offer to avoid further bloodshed and because of the graver task confronting him in connection with the Japanese invasion then threatening. The famous march of the Chinese Red Army over an immense distance of several thousands of kilometers proceeded along a route agreed upon in advance and without any sanguinary incidents.”

Thus was the 'Long March' achieved by Chinese Reds for establishing Soviet Chinese rule against the well-planned national rule of Sun Yat-Sen, the acknowledged leader of the Revolution.

Whatever may be the fundamental difference in methods between Marxism and Sun Yat-Senism, it is evident that China is turning Communist according to her own conception of Communism. Chinese Communism aims to achieve political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity and social reform, without crises, upheavals and evolutions, by establishing full confidence among all the communities, thus ensuring internal calm, peace and peaceful developments. These are the fundamentals of Chinese nationalism preached by Sun Yat-Sen, who is considered today almost as a semi-god by four hundred and fifty million people of China.

During his life-time Dr. Sun failed many aime, but in death he will surely see the signs of victory in no distant day.

Chiang Kai-Shek, China's Man of Destiny

Chiang Kai-Shek, President of the Chinese Republic, ranks today among the foremost leaders of the world. By his statesmanship, indomitable courage and perseverance, China has regained her independence and sovereign rights. In June, 1940, when the Chinese war situation was critical, he pacified his countrymen in such prophetic words: "Let the Japs come, let them drive me back into Sikong (part of Tibet). In five years, I will be back in Chungking and I will conquer China again." China has seen many foreign conquests in the past, but like the bamboo, she never broke. She only bent to circumstantial factors and ultimately absorbed everything that came in her way.

Chiang, no doubt, is dubbed by many as a dictator. It is no wonder. The Chinese Constitution of the pre-war days was such that as chief of the Kuomintang party, he was the trustee of the Chinese nation. But in his personal traits he is a full-fledged Communist, not of the revolutionary type based on Marxian dialectics, but on Confucian ideals. The Communism or Universalism of Confucius considers the world as one-family. Chiang aspires to realise this ideal by following evolutionary methods through legislative enactments in order to safeguard the people's rights.

Equalisation of China's national wealth is the main objective of the National Assembly, which met under his leadership in Nanking during November 1946 for adopting the Draft Constitution of 1936. This objective is the last phase of the Chinese revolution. It is known as "People's Livelihood" in the political testament of Sun Yat-Sen. It will introduce a democratic form of government and adopt such enactments that are necessary for the national ownership of all lands, means of production, communications, transport, large-scale industries and the public sale of food.

Chiang, the supreme leader of China, is the poorest of the poor among his less aristocratic countrymen. Like President Nehru, he owns no private properties. He lives on the small allowance, which his grateful countrymen give to maintain his status as President. When the Government was moved to Nanking, he turned down the offer of Wang Ching-Wei's (President under Japanese occupation) palace and chose a two-storey red brick building within the shadow of the purple mountain. This brick house is the symbol of the Generalissimo's belief in simple and plain living. Foreign visitors are invariably received at this residence.

Chiang gets up early and spends some time in prayer and meditation. His favourite reading is the *Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean* by Confucius. He does not drink alcoholic spirits;

neither does he smoke. He avoids even tea, which all Chinese consider indispensable to happy living. His breakfast consists of a glass of milk and two toasts and lunch of five simple Chinese dishes. But his favourite daily meal is rice congee, the poor man's food in China and India. Lately he has begun to avoid meat. He does not play any game but does hiking and picknicking. Though not baptised, he is a devout Methodist Christian. Nearing sixty-one, he keeps robust health. With his heavy state burdens, he leads the life of a Confucian monk, similar to those of the Han and Tang dynasties.

Drew Pearson, the noted American columnist, revealed the other day that Premier Churchill enraged with Chiang's bold declaration for Indian independence, threatened him to break off the Anglo-Chinese Alliance. But nothing happened as Chiang stuck to his principles. During the Bengal famine, he inaugurated a Relief Fund in China and donated Rupees twenty lakhs to the various organisations in Bengal. He has given handsome donations to the Sino-Indian Cultural Society to maintain the Cheenabhabana Institute in Santiniketan. During his visit to India in 1941, he donated Rupees fifty thousand to the Visvabharati. Madame Chiang, his worthy consort, has recently given five lakhs to Visvabharati to start a Refugee Home in Santiniketan. Chiang Kai-Shek evinces keen interest on Sino-Indian cultural relations.

Life and Career

Chiang Chung-Cheng alias Kai-Shek, the supreme national leader of China, was born on 31st October, 1887, at Chikow Village, in Fenghua District, Chekiang Province, the smallest province in China. During the war years, this province was known as the "Bomb Tokyo" province. It was from here General Doolittle and his aviators bombed Tokyo for the first time.

Chiang Kai-Shek's father was a village-merchant and a trusted leader of the community. He died when Chiang Kai-Shek was only nine years of age. His mother, a strict Buddhist, brought him up in the traditions of old China. She moulded his character according to Confucian ideals. Filial duty was one of his best traits during childhood. He was shy and reserved. At the school, seldom did he move among his schoolmates. He spent most of his time reading books on Chinese classics and politics. After leaving school, he desired to follow the military profession and proceeded to Japan to join the Tokyo Military Cadets' Academy. But admission was refused to him on the ground that he was not recommended by the Government of the Manchus, the then ruling power in China. He therefore returned to China and joined the Paoting Military Academy near Peking. This happened in 1906. After completing his training, he again proceeded to Tokyo the next year, and joined the Military Cadets' Academy.

At the Academy, he won the admiration of his Japanese instructors for his strong character and soldierly traits.

In Tokyo, he came into contact with the "Tung Meng Hui", China's Revolutionary Party founded by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Through this organisation, he came to know Dr. Sun and became his ardent follower. In 1911 when revolution broke out at Wuchang, he deserted his regiment and returned to China. He was held in high esteem by his Japanese instructors and his absence was very much regretted. He is proficient in the Japanese language, the only Asiatic tongue he knew besides his own mother-tongue.

After his return to China, he plunged heart and soul into the revolutionary movement and worked for a few years as Secretary to Sun Yat-Sen. He took active part in all the three revolutions of 1911, 1912 and 1917, and once saved Dr. Sun from his enemies. In 1923, he was appointed President of the Whampoa Military Academy near Canton. In 1924, he visited the U. S. S. R. at the orders of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen to receive further training in military problems from the Moscow Military Academy. At the demise of Dr. Sun in March, 1925, he was entrusted with the leadership of the Kuomintang to fulfil the programmes of the revolution. He seized Shanghai from the enemies of the revolution in 1927. In March 1927, he occupied

Canton and set up his own National Government at Nanking. From 1927 to 1937, he waged a relentless war against the Communists. On October 1, 1927, he married for the second time, Mei Ling-Soong, the youngest daughter of Bishop Soong, a devout Christian and well-known missionary of China. His first wife, a Buddhist, is still alive, and well-settled in life. His only son is a General of distinction in the Chinese army. In July 1926, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Forces to lead the Northern Punitive Expedition against the warlords, which ultimately unified China. In 1927, he evicted Borodin, the Russian General, from Kuomintang. In 1928 he defeated Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, the Manchurian warlord and all China was brought under the authority of Nanking. Between 1928 and 1931, he held the posts of President of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Education. In 1931, he resigned his Presidentship, but was recalled to Nanking in 1932. He started the New Life Movement at Nanchang in Kiangsi province in 1934.

The Japanese occupied Manchuria and Jehol in 1931-32 and attacked Shanghai in 1932. Yet the civil war continued unabated. The Communists desired a truce with the Nationalists so as to offer a united front against the Japanese. On December 7, 1936, Chiang Kai-Shek visited Sian, the headquarters of his Northern troops, to meet their Commander the young Marshal Chang Hsueh-Liang, and to find out

the spirit of revolt that was spreading among those troops. The revolt was to end the civil war and to start a united campaign against the Japanese. He stayed in Lintung, a famous hot-spring resort, ten miles away from Sian. Before dawn, on the 12th December, the Northern troops revolted and he was made a virtual prisoner. He was released through the intervention of W. H. Donald, the Generalissimo's Australian adviser, Madame Chiang and T. V. Soong. A truce was concluded, and on the 14th December, 1936, the united Chinese troops led an attack against the Japanese. In 1937, he resigned the Prime-ministership to devote his time fully as Generalissimo of the Chinese Army. On the fall of Nanking in 1937, he retired to Hankow and then to Chungking. He visited India in February 1942 after Burma was occupied by the Japanese in 1941. He met Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta and issued his historic appeal to the British Government from New Delhi demanding Indian independence. He visited Cairo in November, 1943, to meet President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. He returned to Nanking from Chungking with his Government on May 5, 1946.

President Chiang Kai-Shek holds several high Government posts. He is Chairman of the Supreme National Defence Council, of the Central Planning Board and of the Party and Political Work Evaluation Committee; he is Director-General of the Kuomintang National

Congress, Leader of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, Chancellor of the Central Institute of Political Science, and Commandant of the Central Military Academy.

To assist him in performing his presidential duties, the Generalissimo has a staff of four aides, three secretaries, and a military secretary with the military services, General Peter Pee, a graduate of Britain's Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The aides include two army colonels, Wu Wen-Chi and Kung Cheng-Sun, one navy Commander, Chow Chung-Shan, and one air force first lieutenant, Shah Kung-Chuan.

Of his secretaries, Shen Chang-Huan handles foreign affairs and interprets; S. F. Tsao is recorder, taking notes of official conferences; and H. T. Chow handles dispatches and documents.

The interesting thing about this Secretariat is its age and the fact that none of its members had any background or connection with the President before they entered his service.

The eldest is 37, the youngest 27; their average age is 33. Two of the aides were U. S.-trained, one British-trained, and some of the secretaries also have been trained in foreign countries. The Generalissimo generally keeps aides on his staff for two or three years and then assigns them as military attaches or troop commanders.

Secretaries usually have a longer term of duty; Lee Wei-Kuo, now Vice-Minister of Information, served nearly seven years. The President's personal secretariat is drawn from all parts of China.

Selection of men for these posts is made by the President on the basis of his impression of the merit of young men who, in the course of their official duties, happen to have business with him. Such individuals generally serve a probationary period before becoming full-fledged secretaries.

Chen Pu-Lei is a member of the personal secretariat, although technically he is deputy Secretary-General of the Supreme National Defence Council. For more than 15 years he has acted as personal Secretary-General to the President, drafting speeches, articles, and important documents. He is selfless, universally respected, a man without ambition beyond his devoted service to Chiang Kai-Shek. Due to their long association, he is thoroughly familiar with the President's thinking and reactions and is credited with being able to read the President's mind.

Chiang Kai-Shek is a powerful speaker and a prolific writer in the Chinese language. His speeches have been published in English by the Chinese Ministry of Information, the Chinese News Service, New York, and The China

Publishing Co., Chungking, under the titles of "Voice of China", "China Fights On", "Resistance and Reconstruction", and "War Speeches." His notable political thesis which had evoked considerable criticism in international circles is '*China's Destiny*' which is in the form of a book.

China's Destiny was first published by Cheng-Chung Publishing Co., Chungking, in March 1943, and a revised edition appeared in January 1944. In the revised edition the author has inserted a new chapter in which the purpose of the book is set forth in very clear terms. The book was essentially intended for internal consumption and not as a statement of China's foreign policy. No English translation has been published. About two million copies of the Chinese edition have been sold out in China.

In *China's Destiny*, Chiang Kai-Shek takes the role of the greatest anti-imperialist, and defender of Asiatic freedom and human rights. He has exposed the machinations of foreign powers who began crippling China in the early part of this century. Imperialist rule, he says, is responsible for the decline of Chinese scholarship. Foreign schools and Churches in China have arrested the development of China's own philosophy and traditions. While there is a lot that the Chinese can learn from foreign philosophies, the philosophy of life founded by Confucius, expanded by Mencious and further developed by various scholars of the Han dynasty is superior

to the other philosophies. Buddhism, Islam and Christianity were welcomed by Chinese philosophers and they merged into the original Chinese philosophy of life. Christianity has made great contributions to Chinese culture. But one hundred years of bitter suffering under foreign imperialist aggression has made the Chinese people to look upon Christianity too as a faith of aggression.

China is a peace-loving country with a history of more than 5,000 years. The Chinese race has never expanded its territories outside its own country. China desires peace and freedom of all nations, large and small. China wants to share in the responsibility for maintaining world peace and emancipating mankind. China is against the survival of Imperialism and will never walk in its footsteps. As Imperialism is the cause of all wars, the author desires that the end of World War II should mean the end of Imperialism.

The history of China since 1927 is the history of Chiang Kai-Shek, the greatest builder and unifier of Modern China.

VI

Confucian Socialism

versus

Marxian Communism

The Kuomintang-Communist conflict in China is the outcome of two diametrically opposed ideologies. Both strive for one objective through two different channels. One aspires to realise its goal by peaceful means, and the other by force. What we witness in China is the manifestation of the clash of ideas between Confucian Socialism or State Socialism on the one hand, and Marxian Communism or Scientific Socialism on the other.

Confucian Socialism is based on the fundamental concept of the world as one family. It taught that "all mankind originates with one common ancestor" and "all within the four seas are brethren." It viewed the world as a great Commonwealth of free nations. Long before Marxism was born, it proclaimed Universalism in all aspects of life. The Analects, the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean or the Conduct of Life constitute the three great Gospels of Confucian Socialism. In effecting reforms, these Gospels advocated evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods. They relied on such effective moral Laws as Kindness, Love, Justice,

Harmony and Peace and rejected Hatred, Injustice, Disunion and Chaos as ineffective weapons

Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, is the modern interpreter of Confucian Socialism. For over thirty years, he studied its theories along with the tenets of Marxian Communism. Finally he found the latter unsuitable to Chinese soil and temperament. China is an old country with an ancient civilization and traditions. Compared to Russia, Europe and America, she is industrially very backward. Dr. Sun respected Marx, Engels and Lenin, but he asserted that their Scientific Socialism could not be applied to China in view of her poor industrialisation. He therefore opposed its introduction as it clashed with his moderate, democratic State Socialism. He proclaimed that Socialism might be brought about through gradual reform and peaceful evolution rather than through class struggle and violent revolution. He therefore condemned Marx's revolutionary movement which aimed at the overthrow of the capitalistic system by force of arms. His aim was essentially a centralised State-controlled planned economy evolved through legislative enactments. With this object in view, he founded the Kuomintang or the Peoples' Party and entrusted it with the task of working out his schemes. He formulated his ideals in the now famous 'Three Principles of the Peoples', or the 'San Min Chu I,' and advocated four cardinal principles for creating a Socialist State. They

are (1) Equalisation of land ownership ; (2) Regulation of capital ; (3) Control of all large-scale-industries and (4) National ownership of all means of production, communication, transport and public sale of food commodities.

Mao Tse-Tung, the foremost Red leader of China, says that his party's principles are based on Marxian philosophy. The development and progress of his party, he asserts, originated in the determined fight against dogmatism and empiricism that repudiate Marxian theories. He is wedded to class-struggle and violent revolution. 'Capital' is his political Bible and not the teachings of Confucius and Sun Yat-Sen.

No doubt, the Chinese Communist Party includes many able Generals and high intellectuals. Their patriotism is not a whit less than Kuomintang followers. Their organisational ability and administrative talents are equal to those of Kuomintang leaders. But they stick to Marx for their emancipation from capitalistic oppression instead of relying on their own racial and historical traditions.

The future is shrouded in darkness. Unless these two forces agree to work under a common banner, it is certain that they will fight until one exterminates the other by sheer force of arms.

VII

The Historical Pattern of Chinese Unity*

One of the three most popular novels in China is the "San Kuo Yen Yi", or "Romance of the Three Kingdoms," the scene of which is laid in the period of the breakdown of the great Han dynasty, when the three kingdoms of Han, Wei and Wu were warring against one another for supremacy. The book opens with a remark which aptly describes China's history throughout the ages :

"When the world is united too long, it will disunite : when it is disunited too long, it will unite."

In spite of the difficulties we still have to surmount, I believe that China, after the past century of disunity, weakness, and subjection, will soon emerge a free and united nation in control of her own destiny. August 14, 1945, marks for us, not only the great day of victory over Japan under whose shadow we have long lived in fear, but also the beginning of a new cycle in our long history. After a hundred years during which we were the victims and the hunting ground of rival imperialisms, we are at last

*This article by Dr. Chen Chin-Mai, sometime Professor of Political Science at the National Tsinghua University and now Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, is a study of China's historical cycles from the angle of national unity.

free, not only from Japanese aggression and oppression, but also from the shackles on our sovereignty imposed by the great Powers, in the period which began in 1842 and is now ended. At the same time the new cycle which now begins will be one in which we no longer consider that China is a world in itself; in which we shall not only be united, but also no longer isolated.

The recorded years of China's history stretch back so far into the mists of antiquity that we have a saying, "One does not know where to begin nor how to proceed." To the foreigner it is particularly monotonous to read of dynasty succeeding dynasty over thousands of years without much appreciable change, except that of the rise, decline and fall of one or another imperial house. Enterprising historians, in an attempt to make our history more intelligible, have divided it into three cycles.

The first cycle begins in prehistoric times and lasts until 221 B.C. This was China's classical age. It corresponds both chronologically and culturally with the ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek and Roman civilizations which were the well-springs of European civilization. Politically, China was then in the feudal stage, with the Emperor, "The Common Master", ruling over a number of kingdoms whose rulers owed him allegiance and paid him tribute. By the 8th century B.C., the Chou dynasty was no longer able to control its far-flung domains.

The princes or kings were warring against one another to acquire each other's territories, disregarding the authority of their "Common Master", yet fighting always under the pretext that they sought to maintain the unity of the Empire. "United too long," China was breaking apart.

In 480 B.C. there began the "Period of Warring Kingdoms" when seven major princes divided China among themselves, continually fighting one another for supremacy. These wars were, however, fought according to a civilized code—a sort of international law. Frequently there were "international" conferences of representatives of all the princes, at which the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries would argue politely, vie with one another in literary contests, and sing ballads appropriate to the occasion. At hunting parties they would engage in subtle exchanges of wit.

In such a world, philosophers, literati and poets naturally played an important role, as the counsellors of princes. To this period, which we call the "pre-Chin era," belong Confucius and Mencius and many other philosophers hardly less well known: Mohtse who sought to promote the welfare of the common people by his teaching of brotherly love; Lao Tse and his disciples, the Taoists, who believed in the doctrine of *laissez faire* and in the value of solitude and quiet contemplation. The Taoist precept that the best

government is non-government, that the government should leave the people alone to live their own lives, undoubtedly left a deep imprint on Chinese thought.

Last but not least, there was also in this early age a "Legalist" school of philosophy. Its leading lights were Kuan Chung, Wei Yaung, and Hanfei who, unlike Confucius, the revivalist of ancient traditions and institutions, sought to unload China of the burden of a glorious past and to start all over again in search of a new integrity and synthesis.

These men bequeathed to China and the world one of the richest cultural heritages of mankind. All of them lived during the decadence of the Chou dynasty. Confucius travelled "through the several kingdoms" expounding his political theories and seeking to persuade the princes that by adopting them they might extend their territories and "pacify the world".

China was not, however, fated to be united at this stage by one of Confucius' disciples. It was Shih Huang-Ti, Lord of Chin, in what is now one of China's north-west provinces, to whom the weak Chou dynasty finally succumbed in 222 B.C. Chin defeated the other kingdoms one by one and established for the first time in Chinese history a really unified Empire. The Chin princes were "Legalists". They had adopted the policy of the philosophers Kuan Chung, Wei

Yang, and Hanfei, who believed in establishing a "reign of law" with firm sanctions against all who transgressed. Chin Shih Huang-Ti was so non-Confucian that he ordered all their works to be destroyed and the Confucian scholars to be buried alive.

The second cycle of Chinese history, which began with the establishment of the Chin dynasty, lasted for two thousand years. It ended with the so-called Opium War with Great Britain in 1842, when China's gates were forcibly opened to the penetration of Western influence, and she became what Sun Yat-Sen called a "sub-colony" of the great Powers.

The two milleniums of the second cycle saw the rise and fall of the Han dynasty, the Tang and Sung dynasties, the Yuan dynasty, the Ming dynasty and the Ching dynasty. At its end China was ruled by the Manchus, who finally fell in the next cycle before the onslaught of the national revolution under the leadership of the Kuomintang.

The whole period from 222 B.C. to 1842 A.D. is now regarded as one cycle because the system of government in the several dynasties showed only slight variations and the history of each dynasty followed a similar pattern. China was no longer feudal as in the pre-Chin period. The Central Government, presided over by emperor, held the reins of power. The realm was divided

into regions and districts which were administered, not by hereditary princes, but by magistrates appointed by the emperor and directly responsible to him. From the Han dynasty onward, these magistrates, as well as the officials in the Central Government, were chosen by a system of competitive examinations open to any educated person irrespective of social origin.

The theory of government according to which this huge empire was administered was a curious mixture of Confucian and Taoist teachings. Hence the saying that "historical China is outwardly Confucian and inwardly Taoist." The authoritarianism of the Chin dynasty was contrary to the Chinese spirit and tradition and the reaction against it persisted for 2,000 years. Political power was maintained by a combination of the policy Wu-wei, or non-activity, which the Taoists preached, and the policy of Jen or benevolence, which Confucius taught. From the Central Government down to the local districts, the primary function of government was held to be the maintenance of justice, peace, and tranquillity.

The first decades of each dynasty were usually the most brilliant, prosperous, and peaceful. At the beginning of the great Han dynasty, and again in the early years of the Tang dynasty, Chinese culture was at its zenith. There was peace at home, the frontiers were well guarded, and the chiefs of the outlying tribes came yearly

to pay tribute. The population multiplied amid conditions of general prosperity. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek spoke according to ancient tradition and in conformity with popular sentiment when, in his victory speech, last September 3, he said that our people after all their sufferings and sacrifices should now be "given ample opportunity to rest and recuperate".

The prosperous, peaceful periods in the past unfortunately were not perpetual. Sooner or later, the edifice began to crumble. Gradually and almost imperceptibly, centrifugal forces would get the upper hand. The outlying areas would come under the dominance of warriors and soldiers of fortune who, entrenching themselves in the provinces, became disloyal and over-ambitious. They would begin by intercepting the land revenue and preventing it from reaching the national treasury, and by raising a private army among the more adventurous or discontented members of the population. Later they would "raise the flag in favour of righteousness", and start a revolt.

In so doing, they of course ran the risk of ruthless suppression by the Emperor, for no offence was greater than that of attempting to usurp the throne. The thoroughness with which such revolts were suppressed would be taken as an indication of the strength of the Central Government. If the suppression of a revolt entailed a long and costly campaign, other adven-

turers might be induced to stage similar revolts in other parts of the country. The process of dynastic disintegration would have begun, and there would ensue years of warfare until one or another of the rebels defeated all the others and a new dynasty was born. Thus there were periods of peace and prosperity alternating with periods of utter confusion and civil strife. The rise and fall of the dynasties is rightly regarded as "one of the key problems of all Chinese history".

Chinese dynastic historians, almost always Confucian in outlook, have given us a standard explanation of this problem. The overthrown emperor is always represented as having been a tyrant, a spendthrift, over-ambitious in foreign conquest or the victim of evil courtiers and eunuchs. Others have explained the decline and fall of the dynasties more realistically in terms of the "balance of power" between the Central Government and the outlying regions. When the power and influence of the Central Government was greater than that of the outlying regions, the state of the union was described as "heavy inside and light outside". When on the other hand, the power and influence of the outlying regions were in the aggregate greater than those of the Central Government, the balance of power was "light inside and heavy outside"—a sure indication of disintegration and decay and the prelude to a free-for-all fight for the throne.

This delicate "balance of power" was sometimes upset by the Central Government's involvement in foreign wars, which in those days meant wars against the various tribes along China's borders. If such campaigns proved difficult, there was an opportunity for rebellion at home. In the case of the Mongol and Manchu conquests of China, it was the tribesmen who finally won the contest at the expense of both the emperor and the rebels.

By the second quarter of the 19th century, the Manchu dynasty had already begun to lose its grip. China was then violently dragged from seclusion into what an English historian has called the "bewildering arena of international affairs, the modern world of economic interdependence and political anarchy". By the beginning of the 20th century the Manchu dynasty had been so discredited by the disastrous defeats China had suffered at the hands of the European Powers and Japan, and so undermined by its desperate struggle to suppress the Taiping rebellion, that the various provinces were already practically autonomous. So much so that when the National Revolution began in 1911, the Manchu dynasty fell apart almost overnight.

The establishment of a republic was a far harder task. The Kuomintang (National People's Party), which had a majority in the Parliament elected in 1912, sought to limit the power of the President by a cabinet form of

government modelled after that of France. But Yuan Shih-Kai was not minded to become as powerless as a "mute idol in a pagoda" like the French President under the Third Republic. He had become President in much the same way as other provincial governors had become emperors. He had been the strongest and militarily the first of the governors under the Manchus, and by turning against them at the last moment, he had become the most powerful man in China. Sung Chiao-Jen, one of the leading Kuomintang members, actually campaigned throughout China in true democratic fashion, trying to curb Yuan by obtaining popular support. He was so successful that Yuan had him assassinated. He then locked up the Kuomintang members and set himself up as a dictator. Finally he was persuaded by some of his advisers to have himself proclaimed Emperor.

It looked as if the old pattern of China's history were to be repeated, but republican sentiment proved to be too strong. Yuan's lieutenants revolted and Yuan died in his "palace" a heart-broken and deserted man.

Lesser strong men, however, had no more conception of a democratic form of Government than Yuan and they continued to plunge the young Chinese Republic in disunity and anarchy. For nearly two decades the Chinese people suffered under the rule of warlords, or Tuchuns—provincial governors with their own private

armies independent of the Central Government at Peking which was the puppet of the strongest warlord at the time. China was in a sense back in the period of "Warring Kingdoms". Each warlord sought to increase his power through alliances or deals with other Tuchuns, until such time as opportunity offered to launch an attack on Peking. There was endless scheming and bargaining. "Coalition Governments" were formed by the politicians of various warring factions. Each government was a makeshift, powerless to establish control over the whole country and each "coalition" soon fell apart as new alignments were made and recurring civil wars tore China apart. This miserable era in Chinese history has discredited the whole conception of "coalition government" in the minds of patriotic Chinese, to whom it symbolizes misrule, civil strife, weakness and loss of national independence. The situation was made more confusing and disheartening by the fact that some foreign Powers were actively involved in these fights, backing with money and arms one or another warlord in the scramble for concessions and benefits.

Japan, although the latest comer in the imperialistic struggle in the Far East, was easily the most adroit and unscrupulous. Taking advantage of World War I, she almost succeeded in imposing her hegemony over China by forcing upon her the infamous Twenty-One Demands. She tried again when she attacked in 1931; and

finally in 1937 launched a full-scale war on China “to beat China to her knees”.

Now the Japanese menace has at last passed, and we of China are determined that never again shall any foreign Power be tempted to dominate us on account of our weakness. The warlord era, like the Manchu dynasty which preceded it, is gone never to return.

It will never return because the Northern Expedition which swept the Kuomintang into power was no mere palace revolution. It was the beginning of a national renaissance. The people of China were sick of the warring Tuchuns, and yearned for unity, peace and independence. The armies which in 1926, under the command of Chiang Kai-Shek, marched up from Canton, were everywhere triumphant because they provided both the leadership and the ideology which could re-unite China and revive her as a nation.

After the National Government was established in Nanking, China was again under one-government: a government progressive in ideology and strong enough to sweep away what was known as “the remnants of feudalism” (meaning the warlords) like a “gust of wind sweeping away fallen leaves”. It was also strong enough to command the allegiance of the provinces. It was China’s new-found unity which alarmed Japan, and which prompted her to swallow China as a whole.

The unity of China under the National Government on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war was a plain fact, marred only by the armed rebellion of the small group of Chinese Communists. During the past two years, and especially since the end of the war, the problem of Chinese unity has again revolved around the question of the Chinese Communists. This is true because the Communists' refusal to give up their "occupied" territories and party army are the only remaining obstacles to real unity.

In the light of the history of his nation, the average Chinese today is quite sure what he wants to see accomplished; and as certain of what he hopes will never occur again. He has suffered too much and too long from disunity, civil war, and national weakness to have any doubt as to what China needs. Above all he does not wish to see his country once again divided into semi-autonomous provinces dominated by military leaders each with a private army challenging the authority of the Central Government, and out to capture power at any cost to the Chinese people, and at any advantage to foreign Powers. He is desperately anxious to escape from the old cycle of disintegration, mis-government, anarchy and helplessness in the face of foreign encroachments on Chinese sovereignty.

For over a century the Chinese people have been in the throes of a revolution, seeking to adapt their ancient ways of life and old insti-

tutions to the demands of the modern world. They are determined to develop a form of government under which they will be free of the curse of separatism and civil war, and under which the oldest and most populous nation in the world can be free and strong and prosperous.

The fourth cycle of Chinese history has now begun.

VIII

Chinese Family and Society

review on Miss Olga Lang's Book under the same title)

This is a useful and compact study of the different aspects of the Chinese Family and Society from hoary antiquity to modern times. Miss Olga Lang has apparently taken great pains to ransack all the available literature for collecting the necessary data on the subject for compiling this handy volume. Besides, she has carried out extensive field work in China for gathering statistics on the social economy of that country. Born in the Ukraine in the U. S. S. R., and having studied at the University of Leningrad and Moscow, she has travelled widely in Russia and Europe and lived for some years in Berlin. She had made an intense study of Russian and European sociology, before she set herself to the task of analysing the social and economic history of China. With her European background, she has reviewed the very foundations of the world's greatest civilization and its social polity—that of China.

No doubt, the book contains a wealth of information on Chinese Family and Society, or what we call "Kin and Clan," but unfortunately some of her observations are groundless, in view of the fact she has reached her conclusions in

accordance with European political and social standards. There seems to be an ineradicable tendency in some of the foreign writers to depict the dark and gloomy sides of China's social life, and their attitude has been one of fault-finding on all that is Chinese. Only China's bad things are broadcast by them, while even of good things bad interpretations are given. This evil is due to the lack of a better understanding of the problem they discuss, its genesis, growth and the many evolutionary changes it has undergone in the past, besides an utter lack of national understanding, producing race prejudice in the minds of these observers.

Miss Olga Lang's book does not lack in sympathy and understanding. The well-informed reader may or may not agree with some of her views, but on the whole, her book is a brilliant publication, full of materials of lasting interest, and it should make a wide appeal to Indians interested in Chinese affairs.

But in spite of the author's wide understanding and sympathy, I am afraid, some of her conclusions could be refuted in the light of authoritative statements of Chinese writers. In this brief review, I may point out one or two points which are of utmost importance to China.

The author's remarks that "the Upper Bureaucracy ruling in the name of an absolute Emperor enjoyed enormous power, perhaps

greater than any ruling class in any feudal or capitalistic Society" is a Western misconception of the system of Government in China in peace. Further, the "Oriental Despotism" of China and India is another Western myth which stands exploded long ago. Mass-murders, wholesale purges, concentration camps and similar other despotisms of Bolshevik Russia, and Fascist-cum-Nazi Europe, including those of British Empire countries considered by many as models of Democracy and Freedom, were unheard of in the annals of ancient China and India. The history of European civilization has been bound up with bloody wars of religion, the bitter and abominable persecution and torture of heretics, suppression of human emancipation and the exploitation of backward races and colonization of their lands. But the Chinese civilization based on Confucian system of social ethics has produced an orderly and peaceful Government with an ideal system of Society and Family in China. The people, though free, looked to the Emperor for lead and guidance in all affairs affecting the country. Instead of a despot or absolute monarch, we find the Chinese Emperor reigning as a Mandatory of the People. His powers, no doubt, were nominally very great, but they were in reality fully restricted by well-established regulations based on Confucian ethics. If he violated these regulations, he immediately forfeited the right to reign over his people, and the people's right of revolt became then operative. During China's long history, 24 such revolts are

recorded, each of which has succeeded in replacing one dynasty by another and thus establishing the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Again, the author's views such as that "free peasants as wealth-producing class and a powerful bureaucracy as the ruling class, with political power concentrated in the hands of a small group at the top and an oppressed population" formed the social and political fabric of China like Egypt, Babylon and India are not well-founded. The Chinese village where the peasants live is like a little republic. Apart from paying a nominal land tax, the village is entirely independent of the Central Government. It enjoys perfect freedom of industry and trade, of everything that concerns the Government. Education, police, public health, poor relief, old age pensions and similar services are carried out, not by "local authorities", as in modern Europe, but by the villagers themselves—by the families, the guilds, the gentries, all of whom act merely in accordance with immemorial custom and have no place in the official administration of the country.*

The author is not quite right in her observations on the Civil Service Examinations of China, when she says that "Most of the officials were recruited from the families of those already in office; only a few from the families of merchants and wealthy peasants." But the fact is that the Civil Service in China for more than one

thousand years is the only Civil Service in the world which takes as its criterion, not rank, birth, nepotism or bribery, but personal merit. Many a Viceroy and Han Lin was descended from the humblest of families. It is personal merit which gives a man his place under the sun, not the accident of his birth. The competitive examination system was inaugurated under the Sung dynasty and was based on Confucian classics.

On the ancient institution of Chinese Family system, the author does not look very sympathetically. Yet she admits that Confucian ideas have tended more to strengthen the Family than did Christianity. The author should have known that Christianity in spite of one century's evangelization has failed in China because the early Christian missionaries attacked the Family system, which the Chinese considered as the *summum bonum* of their society and civilization. The author thinks that from time immemorial, greater families existed in China more than the basic families. But the fact is that there have always been more basic families than greater families in that country. Before B.C. 1122 when China was still in the feudal age, the nobles had greater families while the ordinary people had basic families. In his works, Mencius often spoke of "a family of five mouths" or "a family of eight mouths". The former is clearly a basic family, while the latter may still be a basic family of two parents and six children. In the

Han dynasty the basic family was very popular. Yet, the greater family had also its place in Chinese society. Though the greater family has been the standard, many families living under the same roof would give the impression of their being the greater type. But the family is subdivided into many smaller units, whose members cook their own food, till their own fields and bring up their own children.*

The author has devoted many chapters on the disabilities of Chinese women under the family system. Yet she has admitted that "Chinese women are more efficiently protected than women in many other countries, and divorces in old China were rather rare."

Whatever may be the views of foreign writers on the disabilities of Chinese women under the family system, the views of Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, the acknowledged leader of the women of China, is worth mentioning here. Writing in the *North China Daily News* (14 July, 1924), she says : "The Chinese mother stands on an equal footing with the father, and an equal amount of respect and degree of mourning are due to either of them from the other members of the family. The restrictions placed on the freedom of movement of the Chinese women are to a great extent self-imposed and are intended for her protection rather than as an expression of

* Mr. James Shen in *China After Five Years of War*.

her supposed inferiority to the man. On all matters outside the house the man is supreme, while in matters relating to the home and the family the woman is absolute mistress. Occasion for conflict thus hardly arises."

It is an anachronism to say that Chinese women of ancient days suffered indescribable hardships imposed on them by men under the Confucian Family system. No doubt, by tradition, the Chinese women were confined to their homes. Yet from earliest times, women in China had participated in public affairs. There are examples to show that several have gained scholastic attainments. Even at the dawn of Chinese civilization, there were women who enjoyed equal freedom with men and whose social status was in no way inferior to that of men. At one time China had a matriarchal system, traces of which were still perceptible during the Chow dynasty (B.C. 1122-255). In the Confucian Book of Odes one finds abundant evidence that the Chinese woman of those early days was mistress of herself and her family.* Her influence in her home, on her husband and indirectly on the State, was considered one of the important factors in the founding of the Chow dynasty. She took an active interest in politics. Chinese women have distinguished themselves in the realm of literature and art, and in social and other types of national service. There have been

* Miss Pearl Hui-Wong, in the *National Reconstruction Journal*, April, 1946, New York.

many poets, philosophers, scholars, warriors and generals throughout the various dynasties. A society which treated its fair sex as inferiors amounting to the position of chattel could not have produced such a distinguished galaxy of women leaders in ancient China.

IX

Chinese Industrial Co-operatives

Mahatmaji's views given to a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit regarding the origin and aim of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives reported by Sri Pyarelal in the *Harijan* of March 31st need further clarification. Like all industrial enterprises, the "Indusco" has also its weak spots, but it is not quite correct to say that "it was organised by foreign missionary enterprise and its work was tainted by the proselytization motive." In fact, the Indusco is the brain-child of a New Zealander, Mr. Rewi Alley, an ex-Inspector of Shanghai factories. In early 1938, Rewi Alley conceived the idea of developing China's economic resistance against Japanese aggression. He was fortunate to secure the active co-operation of several able and enthusiastic Chinese including Mr. Wu Chu-Fei, a Ford trainee, and Mr. Chao Shu-I, a student studying Naval Engineering in the Mercantile Marine College of the Ministry of Communication at Shanghai. Mr. Chao met Rewi Alley in Hankow and became the first organiser of the Industrial Co-operatives.

When the Chinese Government came to know of its beneficial results, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame Chiang and Dr. H. H. Kung, then Minister of Finance and concurrently Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, sponsored

the movement. In August, 1938, the Government appropriated five million Chinese dollars as a capital loan and provided a monthly administrative budget of forty thousand Chinese dollars. The latter was increased in 1942 to one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, and the capital loan reached seventeen million dollars. Besides, the Government Banks have also granted capital loan to the extent of thirty lakhs of dollars in 1942. No fiscal figures are available up to the year 1945. The Government also backed the movement by ordering for its disposal medical supplies, blankets and certain items of industrial equipments. The movement also got support from its members. Each Co-operative member holds shares of two Chinese dollars each, and the maximum holding is limited to 20 shares per person. The original loan made by Indusco is repayable with interest at from 6 to 10 per cent annually. With the growth of the organisation some funds came from foreign friends abroad, but these were not large amounts. No doubt, America and Britain have given substantial help by voluntary contributions through the China Aid Committee which has been set up in both these countries.

The Indusco is a social or private association with Government backing. In the beginning Dr. H. H. Kung was its Chairman. The movement has neither a proselytization motive nor is it promoted by any Christian mission. It has within its folds Christians, Muslims, Buddhists

and others professing Confucianism and allied sects and religions. Sectarianism and colour bar are unknown to the Indusco Communists and Kuomintang veterans, both work hand in hand for the growth of the Indusco. During the war-torn years, it has saved millions of Chinese by keeping starvation at bay from their homes.

I agree with Professor Agarval, author of the *Gandhian Plan*, who states that "the value of the Chinese 'Indusco' movement to India is very great indeed," and I believe that the Government which promotes such a national movement for its people will grow strong in war or peace.

X

Mr. K. P. S. Menon's Trek from Kashmir to Chungking

A recent New York message appearing in *The Hindu* states that Mr. K. P. Sivasankara Menon, Secretary of the U.N.O. Delegation to the United States and Government of India's Agent-General in China, will, in all probability, be appointed India's first Ambassador to the Chinese Republic.* The message at once recalled to my mind the epic feat accomplished by Mr. Menon last year when he crossed the Central Asian mainland of Chinese Turkistan from Kashmir and reached Chungking in Central China. In modern times, Mr. Menon is the first Indian to reach Chungking through the overland route across Sinkiang, though a few Buddhist monks of ancient days had crossed the same route from Kashmir and Central Asia.

Mr. Menon accomplished this herculean task of crossing China's inner Asian frontier from Srinagar in Kashmir in 118 days. He covered 5,200 miles; 700 miles on horseback, 2,000 miles by car and 1,500 miles by air. He travelled along the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert to Khotan and Kheria after crossing the

*Mr. Menon has since taken up duties at Nanking as India's first Ambassador to China.

formidable Karakoram Pass, about 20,000 feet high above the Hunza river. Motoring along the western and northern edge of the Desert through the oasis of Aqsu, Korla and Karashahr, he reached Urmichi-Tihwa, the provincial capital of Sinkiang, otherwise known as Chinese Turkistan. From Tihwa, he travelled by air to Lanchow, the capital of Kansu Province and thence to Chungking, the wartime capital of the Chinese Government. This overland route to China, known as the 'Silk Road' is longer and more nerve-breaking than all the other three routes, namely, the Burma Road from Lashio-Paoshan, the Ledo Road starting from the Assam border and the caravan route from Bengal through Lhasa in Tibet across the Salween, Mekong and Upper Yangtse gorges, reaching the Chinese frontier before descending through the Min Valley to Chungking.

Before oceans were opened to international traffic about five centuries ago, Sinkiang was the only international bridge connecting China through her North-West with the Middle and Near East, Europe and the outside world. There are two 'Silk Roads', the Northern, which passes through the oases of Kuchar, Korla, Karashahr and Turfan and the Southern, which goes through Yarkand, Kargalik and Khotan. These two roads are the most ancient international trade routes known to history. Along these routes travelled not only silk and other worldly goods but art, culture and religion. Sinkiang was there-

fore the meeting place of the three most enduring civilizations—the Chinese, the Indian and the Graeco-Roman. General Pan Cho, of the Han dynasty in the first century A.D., who is famous for his great achievement of pacifying the North-West frontier of China opened these Continental highways for silk traffic with Asia Minor and Rome. For about eighteen centuries from the Han dynasty (206–221 A.D.) to the end of the Yuan-Mongol (the celebrated Kublai Khan's) dynasty (1206–1368 A.D.) communication between Europe, India and China was through these overland routes. It is through these routes that traders conveyed silk to Bokhara, Samarkand and Rome and brought back bullion. One of the causes for the decline of the Roman Empire was the inordinate export of bullion to China.

After the lapse of nineteen centuries, it was destined for a South Indian from Kerala to trek across this Central-Asian route to China. Leaving out the achievements of Sven Hedin and Sir Aurel Stein, the two greatest explorers of modern times, who rediscovered China's ancient 'Silk Road,' no Indian has crossed this inner Asian bridge to China. Mr. Menon is the first Indian to achieve this feat. In doing so, India has repaid the compliment which China paid to India through Hsuan-Tsang long, long ago.*

*For a full account of this historic trip to China, see Mr. Menon's forthcoming publication entitled "Delhi to Chungking", to be issued by the Oxford University Press.

XI

Rajaji on China and India

Amidst the beautiful surroundings of Santiniketan, Sri Rajagopalachari, Member for Education, Interim Government, and Srimati Sarojini Devi, spent two memorable days. Sarojini Devi, though near seventy, looked charming. She captivated the hearts of every one with her motherly words and affection. Rajagopalachari, the 'inscrutable Rajaji' in the expressive words of Sarojini Devi, clothed in his typical Madrasi dhoti and shawl, was the cynosure of all eyes in Santiniketan, as it was his first visit to this hermitage of Modern India. Rajaji stayed at Utharyana as the honoured guest of Sri Rathindranath Tagore, Karma Sachiva of Visvabharati, and his worthy consort Srimati Pratima Devi. He was treated to South Indian dishes, rasam and chutney, tastefully prepared by Miss Pankajam, the favourite South Indian girl student of Acharya Nandalal Bose. Rajaji was apparently fascinated by his short stay in Santiniketan, as he later stated in a Press interview at Calcutta.

The South Indian students of Visvabharati availed themselves of the opportunity to bring to the notice of Rajaji the need for a Tamil Professor and a Library of Tamil books, to assist and help scholars intending to pursue studies in Tamil literature and culture. With Mr. Perumal of

Kalabhavanam I had the privilege of talking to him for over two hours on cultural problems. Rajaji gave the deputationists a patient hearing and advised them to show their Tamilian culture in their good behaviour towards strangers, foes and friends alike. He promised to send Mr. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, equipped with Tamil books, to try the experiment for two months. If Mr. Mudaliar's efforts proved successful, Rajaji said, the scheme could be brought to fruitful results.

Rajaji and Sarojini Devi were entertained to a grand Kathakali performance at Utharayana arranged by Sri Rathindranath Tagore and exhibited by Mr. K C. Balakrishna Menon, Head of the Dancing Department of Visvabharati. Rajaji was much impressed by Mr. Menon's display of Kerala's dancing technique and was pleased to testify to the dancer's 'extremely nice, good mastery of the art'. Mr. Menon belongs to the Gopinath School of Dancing.

Presiding over the Sixth Annual General Assembly meeting of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India at the Cheenabhabava Institute, Rajaji said that "pictures, sculpture and literature are things that can be seen and felt but culture is difficult to be found in the torment of politics". Praising India and China for their great civilizations, he added: "It is easy of course to praise oneself, but sometimes it is useful too. It can be said that China and India are

really the two civilized nations of the world, the others are magnificent wild beasts." He then referred to the message of His Excellency Tai-Chi-Tao, President of the Examination Yuan, National Government of China, which was unique in manner and which could not come from any other country but China. "Other people are grand, like the tiger or the lion ; they are beautiful of course to look at ; but dangerous to be dealt with. But we, China and India, are serene; we two march forward together " concluded Rajaji. He compared the thoughts in Tai Chi-Tao's message with the moral maxims of *Tiruk-kural* and said that both conveyed identically ennobling thoughts.

XII

Hsuang-Tsang, Master of the Law

India should feel greatly indebted to Hsuang-Tsang, (600–664 A D.), the famous Buddhist monk of the Tang dynasty of China who made a pilgrimage to this country about 1,300 years ago, in search of sacred Buddhist relics and scriptures. Inspired by his distinguished forerunner, Fa-Hsien, who visited India three hundred years earlier, Hsuang-Tsang undertook the perilous journey through the overland route from China. All alone, he trekked through the Silk Road from Sinkiang, along the Taklamakan Desert crossing the formidable Pamirs and reached Kashmir from where he proceeded to Bihar to study Buddhism at the Nalanda University.

Hsuang-Tsang stayed in India for about seventeen years studying Sanscrit and Buddhist scriptures. He made an extensive tour of the country. He visited well-known cities and noted cultural centres of India. He visited Conjeeputram where he saw “naked heretics”—the Jain Monks. He was much impressed with the noble characteristics of the Indians. In his ‘Life and Travels’, he records :—

“The Indians are of hearty and irresolute temperament, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully, and they

yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution of sins in other lines, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations."

Hsuang-Tsang's fame spread far and wide in India. He was considered the unrivalled Master of the Buddhist Law. This celebrated Chinese Monk was patronised by King Harsha of Kanouj and the King of Kamarupa (Assam). They held him in high esteem and veneration. In one of his proclamations (606 to 647 A.D.) King Harsha has given the following tributes to Hsuang-Tsang :—

" Since the beginning of the world, truth has been corrupted by false preachers, and mankind has been led astray by specious misrepresentations. If there were no sages of superior merit, how could their false doctrines be exposed ? The Master of the Law of China, whose wisdom is in bounded, and whose manner of life excites our admiration and reverence, has come to this kingdom to uproot falsehood, to illumine the sublime Law, and to rescue the blind from the darkness which envelops them."

Hsuang-Tsang returned to China through the same overland route. While leaving India, his faithful followers presented him with thousands of rupees worth of gifts as a token of their admiration and respect for his selfless services for the

Buddhist Dhamma, but he declined to accept the presents and took only one shawl to protect himself during the journey to China. He carried with him hundreds of Buddhist texts written in trimmed leaves of palm and not fewer than one hundred and fifty relics of the Buddha. All these were obtained by voluntary public subscriptions. He was followed by a large retinue including his Patron Kings, who led him across Kashmir. All his travelling expenses up to the China frontier were gratefully met by the Indian public.

Reaching China, he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the great Tang Emperor Tai-Tsung. The Emperor afforded him all facilities to propagate Buddhism in China. A committee consisting of two hundred learned monks was set up to assist Hsuang-Tsang in his work of translating the Buddhist scriptures from Sanscrit into Chinese. All these translations amount to 73 works of 1330 fasci. He also wrote an interesting account of his travels in India, known as the "Ta Tang Hsi-Yu Chi". This book has proved immensely helpful to modern historians for tracing the social, political and religious developments in India during the 7th century A.D.

Hsuang-Tsang has become a legendary figure in the religious annals of China. Fascinating stories are current even today in China about his adventurous journey to India. These stories

re displayed on the stage and sung in ballads. Five hundred years after his death, a reputed Chinese author, Wu Cheng-Eu, has immortalized his memory by writing an astonishing book entitled *Travels in Western Countries*. With the title of "Monkey" this book has been translated into English by Arthur Waley.

Hsuang-Tsang passed away in 664 A.D. on the sixth day of the second month and was buried near Loyang. His remains were later removed to Hwang-Chwan in Chang-An in Shensi Province. But during the Sung period, some of his sacred remains were removed to Nanking and preserved in a Pagoda. They were discovered from the outskirts of Nanking during May 1943. Arrangements are being made to preserve them in a newly-built pagoda.

Another famous pagoda known as "San-Tsang Pagoda" exists in a dilapidated condition at Nanking. When Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose visited Nanking in 1943, he worshipped at this Pagoda and donated Ten Thousand dollars towards its renovation.

Hsuang-Tsang was a Mahayanist and a strict vegetarian. In some Buddhist temples in China, his images are installed and worship offered to them. The undisputed pioneer in the field of Sino-Indian cultural co-operation, he united India with China long before western nations thought of us. About his personality,

Pro. Max Müller, the celebrated Vedic scholar, says :—

“There is something in the face of that poor Chinese monk, with his yellow skin and his small oblique eyes, that appeals to our sympathy—something in his life, and the work of his life, that places him by right among the heroes of Greece, the martyrs of Rome, the Knights of the Crusades—something that makes us feel it a duty to inscribe his name on the roll of the ‘forgotten worthies’ of the human race.”

No memorial would be more fitting to Hsuang-Tsang’s sacred memory than to tread his trodden path—the path of Sino-Indian cultural fellowship.

XIII

Indians of Burma

Indian connection with Burma is not of modern origin. It is of hoary antiquity. Long before Burma was discovered by Western Nations through Marco Polo, the Italian officer of Kublai Khan, and Ralph Fitch, a London trader, during 1279 and 1586 A.D. respectively, India had cultural and trade relations with Burma both through the land and sea routes. Before the ninth century A.D. the dominant people in Burma were the Pyu whose principal town was Hamsavathi, modern Prome. The Pyu were of Indian origin through the Hindus of Bengal and Assam intermarrying with the indigenous Burmese. In the subsequent centuries, they were merged in the Burmese race. Another ancient tribe was the Mon or the Talaing, whose capital was Swarnabhumi, modern Thaton. The Talaings were the progenies of Indian immigrants. The early settlers in Tenasserim coast in Burma were people from Andhradesa and Coromandal coast. Chinese records written in 1604 state that the Talaings were the descendants of Indians and the word "Talaing" is an offshoot of the word "Telungana" denoting Telugu-speaking regions in India. In subsequent generations, the Talaings were also merged in the Burmese. Their remnants could be seen even today at Moulmein, Amherst and Thaton. Kadaram or modern Pegu was famous in ancient Tamilnad in

South India. She was under the suzerainty of Rajendra Chola, the ‘Gangai-Konda-Cholan’ of Tamil literature. In the early 11th century, Rajendra Chola, with the aid of his mighty fleet, conquered Bengal and brought under his control the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. He crossed the Bay of Bengal and conquered Pegu and Martaban. To commemorate his sea victories, Rajendra erected a Pillar of victory at Pegu. About eighteen years ago, I saw this Pillar myself, within an enclosure in the Pegu Court compound. Made of metal and about eighteen to twenty feet high, on it were illegible Tamil inscriptions denoting its origin and purpose. Authentic historical data available in Tamilnad has proved that Rajendra Chola had installed a Pillar of Victory at Pegu. After the lapse of nine centuries, the discovery of Chola’s Pillar was due to the ingenuity of some Indian washermen. By accident, they detected it from the banks of the river, while washing clothes. After careful observation, Mr. Ta Sain-Koe, of the Burma Archaeological Department, established it as the “Jayasthambam” of Rajendra Chola. It was put up in the Court compound as a curio of historical importance. The Pillar was left there intact for several years, attracting Indian tourists and admirers from far off countries. But during the Burma rebellion in 1931, it disappeared leaving no clue for further discovery. This is a side-light of the Indian conquest of Burma when steamboats and modern weapons of warfare were unknown to the world.

Cultural contact between India and Burma actually commenced from 250 B.C., with the introduction of Buddhism in that country. After the Third General Council of Buddhists summoned by Emperor Asoka, missionaries were deputed to preach Buddhism in foreign countries. A probable tradition is that Sona and Uttara were the first two monks to visit Burma. They landed at Thaton, which was then a seaport. Buddhagosha, the celebrated South Indian Monk from Conjeevaram, brought the Tripitaka to Thaton about 450 A.D. From that date, Thaton was known as the "Gate of Enlightenment" for Burma. Another interesting tradition is that in 573 A.D., Thimala and Wimala, two South Indian Princes, landed at Hanthawaddy and founded the Kingdom of Pegu.

Pagan, the centre of Burmese culture, had close connections with India. King A-naw-ra-tha, founder of Pagan in 1044-1077 A.D., was greatly influenced by Shin Arahan, an Indian Buddhist monk. Shin Arahan introduced Hinayana or Theravada Buddhism in Burma. By the Lord Buddha, the Burmese, who were Nat or spirit-worshippers, were brought from primitive stage to their present state of enlightenment and intellectual attainments.

After the Third Burmese War, Burma was annexed by Britain in 1886. With the annexation commenced the influx of Indian immigration. To improve Burma's agricultural economy,

the India Government shipped Indian labourers free of cost of the voyage. And Indian officers were deputed to run the administrative machinery. But Burma lacked even the initial capital to manage her own affairs. The annual budgets presented deficits year after year. Therefore, the Burma Government were obliged to borrow about eighty crores of Rupees from the Government of India. For a period of forty years, India had to pay annually two crores for maintaining and developing the New British Burma. The late Gokhale has described Burma as a 'White Elephant' tied to the apron strings of India. Heavy was India's financial burden in shouldering the administrative responsibilities of Burma. The Howard-Meston Delegation deputed by the British Parliament arrived at some settlement with the Burma Government to liquidate this huge debt. This was done without the consent of the Indian Government. Burma still owes to India about forty crores, which India cannot forgo in the interests of Britain.

The Census Report of 1931 states that the Indian population in Burma is ten lakhs and thirty thousands. But before Japanese invasion in 1941, unofficial figures estimated roughly about twelve lakhs. These people had various vested interests, some of capital and others of labour. Almost all the local industries, internal trade and agriculture were financed by Indians. More than one hundred crores of Rupees were given away by way of loans annually by South Indian

Chettyars alone for purposes of agriculture and trade. Many Indians including retired Government servants have invested their capital and savings in lands and buildings all over Burma. In the towns like Mandalay, Toungoo, Rangoon, Moulmein, Bassein and Prome, Indian vested interests were vast, varied and intricate. More than sixty per cent of the total taxes collected by the Rangoon Corporation were contributed by Indians. Of the total national wealth of burma, more than twenty to twenty-five per cent. were owned by Indians. Of the remaining wealth, the Burmese, numbering about one crore, owned only twenty-five per cent. This enormous wealth came into Indian possession after the Britishers set up their administrative machinery. The Indians were found to be useful in developing the resources of the country. Burma was rich in vast areas of unexplored and fertile lands, valleys with rich mineral and oil resources and vast areas of forest yielding good timber. Therefore, the industrious and hardworking Indians were found to be indispensable by the Britishers in exploiting the country and were encouraged to carry on their trade and commerce without intermission.

In 1869, Burma found a boom for her rice produce in foreign markets due to excessive demands as a result of the opening of the Suez Canal. The Burmese ryots found it advantageous to convert as much of the lands into paddy fields. At the same time, business in the country

began to expand by leaps and bounds, through the initiative of foreign industrial enterprises, such as tapping oil and extraction of minerals. The introduction of railways and development of roads facilitated their growth further. But business as accelerated by all these factors required capital. The demands of both the traders and agriculturists were timely met by Indians, when neither the Burmese nor the Britishers could ill-afford it.

During the past half a century, agricultural development was facilitated by the enterprising South Indian Chettyars. By their initiative, the jungle lands were converted into paddy fields, and approximately 150,000 acres per year were brought under cultivation. The Chettyars started their business in 1850 and by 1941, they were able to establish a network of 1,160 Banking agencies in every part of Burma. No doubt, they reaped a rich harvest. By 1931, the Chettiar's investments amounted to 75 crores of Rupees, of which 50 crores were on the security of agricultural lands. The net annual income from this investment was about ten to twelve crores of Rupees. But the depression of 1929–30 brought down the price of paddy from Rs. 250 to Rs. 75 per 100 baskets. Burmese cultivators were hard hit by this abysmal fall, as they could not redeem their debts, or possibly pay any interest at all. Gradually the Chettyars were forced into expropriation of the lands. In 1931, Mr. Burton Leach, a former Chief Secretary of the

Burma Government, estimated Chettyar expropriations at six million acres, out of the total ten million acres of arable lands.

Indian economic penetration was, no doubt, responsible for the break-up of the equilibrium of the Burmese Society. Peasant proprietorship was ousted and replaced by Indian absentee-landlordism. Indians monopolised industrial labour and immigration was unrestricted. All these and other factors created by a foreign system of capitalistic administration spread discontent, culminating in communal riots and rebellions. The appalling increase in crimes, the abnormal growth of loathsome diseases, such as leprosy, are other noteworthy features under British rule. Poverty and privations arising out of the evils of an unequal system of wealth distribution, unemployment, the low standards of living of the masses in spite of huge profits made by capitalists, Government's apathy to national interests and similar other anti-social forces created chaos and confusion in the lives of the people.

Indian interests were adequately safeguarded through separate communal electorates. In the 1937 constitution, thirteen seats were reserved for the Indian community. Indian vested interests claimed for more rights in proportion to the amount of wealth they possessed. This was resented by the Burmans, and the 'Indian menace' was much boosted in the Burmese Press. The anti-Indian feeling reached its

climax under the leadership of U Ba Pe and U Saw when such wild notions as of Indian property being shared and appropriated by Burmans were prevalent among the less educated Burmans, even at the head-quarters of the Government. Numerous measures involving racial discrimination were adopted by the Legislature showing a sharp cleavage between Indians and Burmans. The tax on Sea-Passengers' Bill and the Expulsion of Offenders' Bill were the most notorious among them, according to Indian representatives. Due to European influence, the former was not certified by the Viceroy but the latter came into the Statute Book.

The agrarian problem created by the South Indian Chettyars and others who followed the system of small-scale banking, was a real cancer in the body-politic of Burma. To remove this cancer, the Land Alienation Act was passed in 1941. It provided provisions against the transference of land from an agriculturist to a non-agriculturist. But no machinery was however set up for the enforcement of this Act. Another important measure was the Land Purchase Act. Its objects were State purchase of large "blocks" of land from absentee landlords and giving them back to peasants under a hire-purchase scheme. This scheme required about 50 million Pounds. The Japanese invasion, however, prevented the Government from bringing these measures into operation. The New Government will have to face a difficult task in solving them.

Two other vital measures that will affect the personal interest of Indians are the regulations relating to Indo-Burma immigration and the inter-marriages with Burmese women. The Bajpai - U Saw Agreement was the target of much criticism in India and Burma. In this Agreement, Indian leaders of vested interests saw many loopholes to strangle the Indian immigrant. Its main features were firstly, that Indians will not be allowed to enter Burma without a permit; and secondly, the marriage or cohabitation of Indian males with the females of indigenous races were prohibited, subject to the approval of the Burma Government and thirdly, Indians residing in Burma, making her their home-land, were entitled to certain privileges. On the whole, with certain reservations, the Bajpai - U Saw Agreement would have served the purpose for which it was designed. Whatever it is, no country in the world would allow unrestricted foreign immigration which helps to injure its national interests. Inter-marriages with Burmese women have created much ill-feeling among Burmans in recent years. Due to Burmese women's freedom, marriages are freely contracted and freely dissolved. When a Hindu takes a Burmese woman, she is his mistress and not his legal wife. She can be easily discarded at his own will and pleasure. Though she may be looked upon as his wife by neighbours, neither she nor any of the offsprings of the union has the right to succeed or inherit the estate in whole or

in part of the Hindu. But with a Muslim, she remains his legal wife and adopts the Muslim faith. The offsprings of such unions are known as Zerbadis. The Burmese woman dominates her land in all walks of life. The freedom enjoyed by her is unequalled in any part of the world. With all the faults natural to human species, she is the best specimen of womanhood in all the world. In spite of her extravagant habits, she is a noble creature, whom any one will adore for her traits. Kind, industrious, passionate, seductive, loyal, reciprocative and strong in attachment, the Burmese girl is very much devoted to an ideal husband. Any legislation for raising her status when married to a Hindu, must be supported by every Indian. It meets a long-felt need and is humanitarian in its aims.

The system of separate electorates on communal basis has done irreparable harm to Indo-Burman unity in the past. It is not a panacea for the Indo-Burman ills. What is required is goodwill and mutual understanding of each other's problems. Communal Electorates create class hatred and class hatred culminates in communal riots. Apparently, the Government wanted to keep the Police and the Military active at the expense of the masses. In the New Burma that is in the making, Joint Electorates, with a declaration of minority rights in the Constitution, will be a sufficient safeguard for Indian interests. We desire concord and amity ; not hatred and dis-

union. Through Joint Electorates, men of sterling humanitarian principles could only be returned to the Legislatures on qualifications of service and self-sacrifice to the society and country. Sir Oscar de Glanville, though an European, was elected to the Legislature through the general non-communal constituency and had the honour of being elected President. The principle of communal representation is an evil against which Mahatmaji offered such resistance as fasting unto death for its replacement by Joint Electorates. Indian Capitalists in Burma are in the position of European capitalists in India. Whatever charges we Indians might bring against the Europeans here, could be equally brought by Burmans against our Burma-Indian capitalists. Therefore, the Indians in Burma should identify their smaller interests with the larger interests of the Burmese. They should not only follow the policy of "Live and Let Live", but should be scrupulously "Burmese while in Burma" according to Pandit Nehru's dictum. Therein lies peace and prosperity for Burma Indians.

In spite of the Indian capitalists' claim that they own twenty to twenty-five per cent of the total wealth, their contribution towards national welfare is infinitesimally small when compared to other communities. Though their aims were personal aggrandisement and profit-making, yet they could also have looked to the country's general welfare. However, capitalist exploitation of the masses could not be adequately com-

pensated by bestowing benefits on society. Yet, the Indian capitalists have failed in this respect too. They have spent millions to erect huge edifices for worship all over Burma. For instance, the Chettyars alone have spent about two crores for erecting forty temples in Burma. Temple building and the accumulation of wealth therein are not the best ways of serving God and humanity. Nowadays, religion does not live in temples, but in the society in which we live. Though the motive of Christian Missions in Burma is bad inasmuch as their aim is conversion, yet we cannot disclaim their service to suffering humanity. The Ramakrishna Mission has rendered good service to all in Burma. Their examples may be followed by Indians in the New Burma. The Indian capitalists should realise that service to humanity is the only way of serving the cause of God.

The future of Indians in Burma is not a bed of roses. It is beset with several difficulties. The future must be built on the principles of Burmese nationalism and not on Indian conservatism. Therefore, it is incumbent on every Indian in Burma to move with the times. Burma, like India, desires an independent status among the free nations of the world. To oppose her national awakening would be the greatest blunder of the British Government. Isolationism of Indians in Burmese affairs should be a thing of the past. No doubt, British system favours capitalism. None the less, Burma-Indians

should strive to develop her future quietly and progressively. Political freedom, economic prosperity, religious tolerance and social justice must be achieved without crises, upheavals and revolutions. This is the message preached by the ancient sages of India and China. We must establish full confidence and co-operation among the different communities in Burma and thus ensure calm, steady and peaceful developments.

Pan-Asianism, first preached by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen from Tokyo, must be realised by us sooner or later. In its realisation lies the ultimate safety of our Indian brethren in Burma and of those Asiatics in the outside world.

XIV

Small-Scale Indian Banking in Burma

Burma was a feudal State before British occupation. Though rich in natural resources, yet she was an undeveloped country. But poverty among the masses was not so much rampant as it is seen to-day. Under native rule, every one was content, having plenty to eat and not much to do. To the outside world, Burma was the golden land of fairies, temples, elephants, and pagodas. In those remote days, many a foreigner had crossed the perilous seas to shake the Pagoda trees of Burma. It was all 'honey and milk' that fell from these Pagoda trees. It was gold, pure and glittering, they saw in every corner of Burma. But, alas, the old order has now changed ! The economic equilibrium of Burmese society now stands shattered. The first British occupation after the third Burmese war was followed by all the concomitant evils of a capitalistic system of foreign administration. Within fifty years, the alien rule led to the national wealth of the country being distributed unequally among the people. Before the Japanese entered the scene, the indigenous people numbering about one crore, out of the total population of one crore and thirty lakhs, owned only twenty-five per cent of the total national wealth of the country. The rest was owned by foreign elements, such as the privileged Europeans, the hard-working Indians and

the industrious Chinese. The effect of this unequal distribution of Burma's national wealth was most tantalising on the nerves of the Burmese people. The exasperating increase in crimes,—Burma was the second crime centre in the world under British rule, the first being U.S.A. under Dollar Rule,—the Indo-Burmese riots, the appalling spread of venereal diseases, especially leprosy (Burma was the foremost country in the world for this loathsome disease, according to Government reports and the Tharrawaddy rebellion started by Saya San were the immediate results of the unequal distribution of Burma's national wealth.

British rule, followed by the temporary Japanese occupation and the much-boosted ferment of Responsible Government on Burma under the Co-prosperity Sphere, have contributed nothing tangible to raise the standard of living of the masses. Nor have these regimes helped a whit to advance the industrialisation of the country. Burma's contact with the West, no doubt, has awakened her political consciousness. But economically, her condition has deteriorated in spite of the huge dividends and profits made by investors. This was mainly due to the neglect of the Government in enacting such statutory laws as were necessary for safeguarding the legitimate sovereign rights, and the means of livelihood of the indigenous people. The small-scale banking business conducted by Indian and Burmese businessmen was partly responsible for the transfor-

mation in the economic life of the Burmese masses. Individually or collectively, none is to be blamed for this change. If we desire, we may blame Capitalism which is the root-cause of all the troubles in Burma. It should not be forgotten that it is economics and economics alone that counts much in the present-day political world. And unless Burma's economic problem is solved to the lasting benefit of the masses, it is certain that chaos and disorder will continue to exist in the otherwise peaceful land of the Pagodas.

In this article, I propose to deal with the history of the Nattukottai Chettyars, the well-known bankers of Burma, who, in the words of distinguished Burmese administrators, such as, Sir Craddock and Sir Harcourt Butler, have rendered valuable service to Burma in the field of agriculture and banking.

The Chettyars had begun their overseas migration to countries like Malaya, Ceylon, Indo-China, Siam and Burma for the expansion of their business even as early as 1850. With the British occupation of Tenesserim Division about ninety years ago, we see them in Moulmein as bankers and businessmen. In 1852, the Chettyars started their banking business in Rangoon. The country was then financially poor as a result of the constant wars of the Burmese King waged against the Britishers. As such, the Chettyars were found to be very useful both by the British Government and the Burmese in the develop-

ment of the natural resources of the country. In 1869, Burma found a boom for her rice produce in foreign markets due to excessive demands from European countries, as a result of the opening of the Suez Canal, which afforded an easy route between the East and the West. With increasing demands for their rice produce, the Burmese ryots found it advantageous to convert as much of the waste lands into paddy fields as possible. This required capital. At the same time, business in the country began to expand by leaps and bounds as a result of the initiation of several industrial enterprises by various English Firms for the tapping of oils and the extraction of minerals. Introduction of railways and the construction of roads further facilitated the expansion of trade and commerce.

But business, as accelerated by all these factors, required immense capital. The demands of both the agriculturists and businessmen were timely met and served by the Chettyar community, when neither the Burmese nor the Britishers could arrange for this extra capital. Even the few Co-operative Societies that were started to facilitate this aspect of the national activities were found wanting in many respects. As such, the Chettyars were encouraged to continue their business without intermission. The Chettyars, no doubt, made money, out of these transactions; but more so did the Joint Stock Banks, which advanced heavy amounts to the Chettyars. Their business expanded to gigantic proportions,

and within fifty years, a network of 1,160 Banking-Agencies were established throughout Burma. But the depression of 1929 descended on Burma with a fury. The price of paddy went down to the abnormal level of Rs. 50 from its original price of Rs. 300 per 100 baskets. The Burmese cultivators were placed on the horns of a dilemma. They found it hard to repay the borrowed capital either in full or in part, or even to pay any interest at all. The Chettyars were gradually forced into expropriation of the lands. The Chettiar-loans in 1929-30 amounted to Rs. 75 crores, out of which Rs. 50 crores were on the security of agricultural lands. It was estimated in 1936 that out of the ten million acres of arable lands in Burma, more than half were owned by the Chettyars. The blueprint of Burma issued last year by a group of the Conservative Members of the British Parliament assumed that Burma's agricultural indebtedness to the Chettyars has been automatically solved with the destruction of records during the Japanese invasion. But the late Mr. A. M. M. Vellayan Chettiar, who was shot dead by a South Indian Tamilian some few months ago in Rangoon, was able to gather up all the originals of Chettiar-deeds and mortgages and present them for the safe-keeping of the Government of India in 1944. The blueprint has recommended that the Chettyars should be contented with 30 per cent of their total investments. Whatever may be the figures for final adjustments, the British Government is committed to fulfil its moral obligation to the Chettyars by

giving them back a satisfactory portion of their investments in Burma.

During the Japanese occupation, the Chettyars who remained in Burma rendered valuable service to the Azad Hind Fouz formed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Sri Amrithlal Sheth, publisher of the epoch-making book "Jai Hind", says that at the time of Netaji's departure for Malaya from the Mingladon Aerodrome in May, 1944, the Chettyar elders present there to bid him farewell, donated Rs. 20 lakhs for the maintenance of the Indian National Army. Prof. J. Russel Andrus, former Head of Judson College in Rangoon, writing in the Foreign Policy Reports published from New York says that the Chettyars financed the Azad Hind Bank and gave large contributions to the Indian Army of Independence.

XV

South India's Relations with China

South India's contacts with China from earliest times should be classified under three categories, viz., Commercial, Political and Cultural. Authentic historical data of such contacts before the second century B.C. is unfortunately lacking. But the second century B.C. is undoubtedly the commencing period of Sino-Indian contact. Three well-known historians, viz., Mr. Carrington Goodrich, Mr. Tsu-Tsi, and Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar were of opinion that Sino-Indian contacts commenced from the second century B.C., while Mr. Rhys Davies, Mr. Radhakumud Mookerji and Mr. Kennedy presumed the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. as the probable period of Dravidian contacts with China.

According to *Silappathikaram*, *Pattinapalai* and *Manimekhala*, the three Tamil Classics composed during the second and third centuries A.D., there were 300 ports which were open to sea traffic on the South Indian coast. Notable among them are Muziris or the modern Cranganore, Calicut, Varkalai, Cochin, Quilon and Kumari in the Chera country; Thondi, Kaveripattanam or Puhar, Kayel and Puduvasi or Pondicherry in the Chola and Pandya countries.

Cranganore was a leading sea port during the first and second centuries before Christ. She had contacts not only with China but also with Rome. Even earlier, she had assumed historic importance for Vedic learning. It is presumed that Chanakya, the author of Artha Sastra, was born there during the fourth century B.C., though difference of opinion as to his birth-place still exists among the learned historians of the day. Pliny in A.D. 77 has referred to Muziri's trade with foreign countries. To early travellers, Muziris was known as Cynkali or Little China. Hsuang-Tsang in the seventh century A.D., according to his 'Life and Travels', is said to have proceeded from Malayakuda Country (Madura-Conjeevaram) to Seng-ka-lo or Ceylon. But he never visited Ceylon, the Island beyond the seas. According to him he visited a country on the extreme corner of the mainland in Southern India, and this extreme corner is believed to be Cynkali or Cranganore. In those days Cranganore was a noted centre of Buddhist learning and culture. Several well-known monks lived there in beautifully-built Viharas. Reference to Buddhism in Southern India could be seen in some of the ancient literature of the Tamils.

Mr. Mortimer Wheeler, Director-General of Archaeological Department of the Government of India, in the course of his investigations had found out that Cochin's Architecture was greatly influenced by that of China. The finding of

Chinese porcelain from excavations at Cranga nore and coins of the Han, Tang and Ming periods from different parts of Southern India give further credence to the view that South Indian contacts with China had actually begun from the second century B.C.

Calicut and Quilon were the two other important sea ports which enjoyed considerable trade with China. Morcopolo, the Italian traveller, and Ihubattuta, the Mohammanan traveller have stated that they saw several Chinese vessels in Quilon. Quilon had also diplomatic relations with Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China. Chinese Colonies existed at Quilon and Calicut during Kublai's period. The Quilon settlement was known as 'Coulung-China' according to Dutch sources. Chengho, Mahuar and Ma Twain are the three other important Chinese who had come to South India by sea. In the beginning of the sixteenth century. Arab traders captured the South Indian trade from the Chinese. The Chinese settlers were massacred by the Arabs and many of the surviving escaped to Ceylon and China.

South India had sent several learned Buddhist Monks to China. Sanga-Varmi, the Ceylonese monk, reached China in 420 A.D. He translated the Mahisasaka Vinaya into Chinese. Gunavarman sailed later. He initiated the community of Nuns in China. In 433 A.D. a party of Ceylonese Nuns went to China and established

the Bikkhuni order. Bodhi Dharma of Conjeevaram went to Canton by sea in 520 A.D. He is the founder of Dhyan Buddhism in China. Buddha Bhadra arrived in China in 398 A.D. He sailed from Cochin in 736 A.D. Bodhi Sena went to China and later settled in Japan.*

*Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar and Mr. Nilakanta Sastry have thrown much light on South Indian contacts with China from earliest times.

XVI

San Min Chu I

or

The Political Bible of China

San Min Chu I, the Three Principles of the People, was formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic with the aim of moulding China into an organised State of the people, by the people and for the people. It was during his long exile in Europe that he propagated these revolutionary principles among his overseas countrymen. They were made known to the Chinese later by lectures delivered by Dr. Sun in the Chinese language. But after his return to Canton in 1921 from Europe, he began to write out his speeches with the object of publishing them. Dr. Sun almost completed his writing work when a revolt among his followers broke out at Canton in 1922, as a result of which all his manuscripts were destroyed by fire.

But after the reorganisation of the Kuomin-tang Party in 1923, Dr. Sun began to propagate his revolutionary principles through weekly lectures delivered before large gatherings at Canton. These lectures were taken in steno-graphic notes and later published in book-form. This book was in the Chinese language. In 1927, an authentic English translation

rendered by Dr. Frank Price, the noted American Educationist of China, was issued under the auspices of the China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai. It consists of sixteen lectures arranged in three parts. It was the desire of Dr. Sun to deliver a few more lectures on the People's Livelihood or Chinese Socialism, but he died before he could deliver them.

XVII

Political Parties in China

American trained Prof. Miss Lee, Leader of the Chinese delegation to the All India Students' Conference held in Delhi, speaking at the Cheenabhabava Institute in Santiniketan cleared certain misconceptions regarding political parties in China. China to-day, Miss Lee said, is not ruled by Kuomintang alone, but by all the major political parties except, of course, the Communist Party of China.

The National Assembly which met in Nanking during November 1946, comprised of delegates from three major parties, viz., the Kuomintang, Young China Party and Social Democratic Party. The assembly was convened for adopting the Draft Constitution of 1936, which aimed to introduce a Democratic System of Government for China. The Communist Party and a few members of the Democratic League boycotted the Assembly. They demanded that the 1936 Constitution should be scraped and new delegates elected for drafting a new constitution.

The present delegates, they said, were not empowered to adopt any constitution as their tenure of office is only six years. But the Kuomintang and the other groups contented that

they had reached an agreement with the Communist Party in January 1946, when Chou En-Lai, chief Communist representative, assented to the provision of "Passing the draft-constitution of 1936 with the consent of three-fourths of the delegates present." Now that the majority of the delegates were unanimous in their view to adopt the 1936 Constitution, the Communist Party's demands could not be acceded to and they are bound to abide by the terms of that agreement.

The truly effective political parties in China number but four : the Kuomintang, Kungchuantang, Young China Party and Social Democratic Party. Others whose names are occasionally heard of are : the China Vocational Educational Association, the National Salvation Group and the Third Party. This last emerged from a group of men not acceptable to Nationalist or Communist groups thus forming a sort of no-man's-land.

XVIII

In Memoriam :

Mahatma Ramalingam

and

Gurudeva Tagore

Two brilliant moons among the myriads of stars lit up the southern and central spots of the Indian horizon, illuminating the darkest corners of the world, with their serene lustre and exuberance, during the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. Of these, one is the venerable figure of Mahatma Ramalingam of Chidambaram, the divinely-inspired mendicant Poet of South India, and the other is the magnetic personality of Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore, Poet-philosopher and Saint of Santiniketan, the modern hermitage of international culture and fellowship in India.

Though strikingly different in outward appearance, one, yellow-robed, clean-shaven and austere in demeanour; the other, majestic with silvery beard and a radiant face adorned with lotus-shaped eyes, conspicuous for their inborn compassion towards all creatures, Ramalingam and Tagore, in their inner self are identical persons embodying our ancient religious ideal of unity in all diversified objects. In the ethical

aspect, they are undoubtedly the two outstanding modern representatives of Confucius, Lao Tze, Buddha and Christ, leaving alone the towering personality of the Saint of Sabarmati.

The ennobling message of Divine Love has been sung in the past in melodious tones by such harbingers of peace as Masthan, the Muslim Divine, and Pattinathu Swamigal : both of Tamilnad. Having spent a few years there, the writer has had the good fortune of partaking a little of the ambrosia that these two mystic poets have bequeathed to us through their divine lyrics. Yet in all his studies, nothing has captivated the heart of this unworthy writer so much as the inspired poems of Ramalingam and Tagore, India's two mighty exponents of the religion of Universal Love.

Ramalingam and Tagore sang the sweet melodies of a transcendental philosophy that led mankind higher and higher to the unknown realm of the 'Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man', the Christian ideal, where, the Jeevathma merges in the Paramathma, and transforms the heterogeneous humanity into a single homogeneous assembly, extending equal rights and privileges in every walk of life—political, economic, social and religious.

Both these Seers, of Chidambaram and Santiniketan, strove for the humanitarian ideal of service and self-sacrifice towards the welfare of

mankind. The higher objectives of their lives were World Peace and World Unity. They were the two beacon lights of wisdom of modern India. Through their divinely-inspired Poems, they have sanctified India, and have elevated her as the cultural leader among the civilized nations of the world.

Of the two institutions started by Mahatma Ramalingam and Gurudeva Tagore, the Satya Gnana Sabha, of the former at Chidambaram, which the Swamiji has christened as the 'Temple for Humanity' and the Visvabharati, of the latter, much has been written in recent years. Yet, it can be stated briefly that both these institutions were inaugurated with the noble objective of spreading the message of universal love through conciliation, right-path, contact and mutual understanding. Before leaving their carnal bodies, both these Teachers have left us the abiding message of their life-mission. Ramalingam asked us to show goodwill towards all and Tagore instructed us to keep Visvabharati as his instrument to weld humanity into one family of nations. And woe to those who attempt to introduce the demon of communalism and aggressive nationalism within the cultural conclave of Visvabharati. It must be emphasised that Visvabharati is the Mount Everest among the mighty educational institutions of the world. She is far, far away from political shibboleths, religious fanaticism, narrow-minded communalism and bigotry, which make the beast of a man, creating

bickerings and feuds among the different nationalities of the world.

As reformers, Ramalingam and Tagore stood for the emancipation of the oppressed from the time-old religious and social tyrannies. Both attacked fearlessly the injustice and cruelty to which Indian women and the Avarnas, the lower strata of Hindus, were subjected to from meaningless customs, religious and caste prejudices. Both have sung the Gospel of Divine Love which they have defined as 'the land of life, the road to freedom and pathway to God' Master-teachers, they have revealed the hidden secrets of life. They have showed us the right path to build a better world, a world safe for democracy and all that it stands for.

Mahatma Ramalingam and Gurudeva Tagore have earned fame for their monumental literary masterpieces, the former for his *Tiru Arulpa*, the hymns of revelations in Tamil and the latter for his *Gitanjali*, the religious lyrics, and, besides, hundreds of poems rendered into English from the original Bengali. *Tiru Arulpa* and *Gitanjali* are unequalled for their intense mystic beauties, noble ideals, melodious and rhythmic composition, unflinching love for God and a rationalistic outlook on human relations. They breathe the spirit of liberty and they are soul-stirring and heart-melting. In agony and in pain, they are a solace to our hearts. Exhilarating to the utmost, they electrify our hearts and make us feel nearer to God.

A descriptive analysis of the Message of Ramalingam and Tagore does not lie within the short compass of this article. Yet I reproduce below two of their poems to show how elevating they are to our hearts.

In addressing God, Ramalingam says :

“ Mountain-like as Thou art, Thou art in the hand-grip called Love.

Treasure-like as Thou art, Thou art caught in the net called LOVE.

Ambrosia-like as Thou art, Thou art in the hollow of the palm called Love.

Ocean-like as Thou art, Thou abidest in the vessel called Love.

Thou art Love the all-luminous that abideth even in a small atom.

Thou art the great SIVA whose form is LOVE.”

(*Tiru Arulpa*)

In addressing God, Tagore says :

“ The world to-day is wild with the delirium of hatred,

The conflicts are cruel and unceasing in anguish,

Crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed.

All creatures are crying for a new birth of
Thine.

Oh Thou of boundless life,
Save them, rouse thine eternal voice of hope,
Let LOVE's lotus with its inexhaustible
treasure of honey
Open its petals in Thy light."

(Poems of Tagore)

Our ancient bards have also sung in the same tone. In concluding this humble homage to the sacred memory of India's two monumental Seers, Mahatma Ramalingam and Gurudeva Tagore, I reproduce below two stanzas of the thrilling poem sung by the two disciples of Dandiswami in 326 B.C. when Alexander's messenger invited the Swami to explain the secret of life :

" Life is ebbing, life is flowing,
Things are coming, things are going,
States are falling, States are rising,
Creeds are springing, Creeds are dying.
The Wheel of Time, the Wheel of Time,
It turns and turns into cosmic rhyme.



“ The common man and woman see
Nothing except Diversity,
They never pause to think and see
That Truth is uniformity.
The Wheel of Time, the Wheel of Time,
It sighs and turns to cosmic rhyme ”.

(From Mr. A. S. P. Iyer's
Three Men of Destiny)

May the spirit of Ramalingam and Tagore
guide us to realise the eternal truth of Unity in
Diversity, is the ardent prayer of the writer.

APPENDIX I

Inter-Asian Cultural Co-operation

BY

Prof. Tan Yun-Shan

(From the Memorandum submitted to the Asian Relations Conference)

Asia has been the cradle of world culture. Take one thing for instance, all the great religions of the world, such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Taoism and Confucianism, were born in this great ancient continent. Modern scholars divide the world of culture into two spheres: the 'East' and the 'West'. As it is generally understood, the 'East' means Asia, and the 'West' means Europe and America. But the so-called 'Western Culture' had its origin in the Greek and the Roman, and the Greek and the Roman had their connection with Arabia and Asia Minor. It is, therefore, not all without reason to say that Western culture has had some Asian elements and origin. Anyway it had been greatly influenced first by the Hebrews and again by the Arabs. At least the great world-religion, Christianity, has given faith and hope of life to almost all the peoples of Europe and America.

Let us turn to Asia again. The Asian or Eastern culture may be again divided into four

main branches at present: the Hindu, the Islamic, the Chinese and the Malayan. Hindu culture covers almost the whole of India and spreads its influence to almost the whole of Asia. Islamic culture consists mainly of the Arabs, the Persian and the Turkish, and covers the whole of West-Asia and spreads its influence as far as Europe and Africa. Chinese culture overshadows the whole of Eastern Asia, including China, Korea and Japan, and extends its influence to a great part of South-East Asia. The Malayan culture is a product of the convergence, mingling and combination of the above three cultures. All these branch cultures of Asia, although different in shape and colour, are fundamentally the same in spirit. What is this fundamental spirit? It is, in very simple words, peace, love, compassion and freedom. As such, it teaches us to be always calm and selfless, not only to forget but also to give up ourselves and to think always of others, and love and sympathise with all and everybody. The very word Islam means peace and fraternity. The great Chinese saint, Confucius, taught us two words: 'Chun' and 'Shu'. 'Chun' means, in his own words, 'The man of virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to enlarge himself, he seeks also to enlarge others.' 'Shu' means, also in his own words, 'What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.' He again exhorted us: 'Love all and endear the virtuous.' The ancient Indian sages exhorted us: 'Let him

not do evil to others who desires not that sorrows should pursue himself.' Again : ' Give every one his due, hurt no one, and do unto others as you would like them to do unto you.' And again : ' Do naught to others which if done to thee would cause thee pain.' Lord Jesus Christ taught us : ' Love your enemy'; and ' Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them' Such messages of Asian culture are too numerous to be cited here. If such a culture were imported to all people and if all people followed such noble teachings, there would be no quarrel, no dispute, no controversy of any kind ; of course there would be no war at all.

In ancient times, there were very intimate and friendly relationships among all the Asian Nations. There was a great deal of cultural and religious intercourse and interchange between all the Asian peoples. They met one another very often. They greeted one another with goodwill and best wishes. They co-operated and collaborated with one another. They exchanged with one another their ideas and scholarship. They were mutually influenced, benefited and enriched by one another. They had not only benefited themselves but also blessed other people and contributed a great many of the most glorious chapters of world history by such contacts. As I have already mentioned, the Malayan culture is a product of the convergence, mingling and combination of Hindu,

Islamic and Chinese cultures. Chinese culture has been enriched by its contact with Hindu culture, specially with Buddhism. Hindu culture has been enlarged by its contact with Islamic culture. Islamic culture has in turn been enlarged and enriched by both Hindu and Chinese culture. And all these together have given much enlightenment to the peoples of the West. Even modern science, which is the pride of Western civilisation, had really its origin in Asian culture.

But unfortunately, indeed very unfortunately, all these cultural and religious contacts, these intimate friendships and intercourses, and these cordial co-operations and collaborations among the Asian countries and peoples had somehow dwindled and died down for the last few centuries, probably on account of the vicissitudes of life and changes in circumstances. It was mainly because of this rupture of relations among us that we all Asian nations have suffered so much for hundreds of years at the cruel hand of Destiny. It is therefore absolutely necessary for us today not only to revive our old contacts and friendships but also to create new relations and open new intercourses. We must from now on unite not only politically but culturally ; here I should only say culturally, to co-operate and collaborate in studying and promoting our Asian culture in order to enlighten ourselves and enlighten others, so that war may be prevented and peace maintained for ever.

In conclusion, there are two points that I

must make clear. First, when promoting Asian or Eastern culture, we should not have the least notion of looking down upon the European and American or Western culture, especially upon modern science which we all Asian peoples should study and apply most earnestly, whole-heartedly and urgently. But science, when we have learnt it, must be controlled and directed by the noble spirit and lofty ideals of our Asian or Eastern or Oriental (as it is most commonly referred to by scholars) culture, so that it will be only rightly used to benefit people and will not be misused to make Atom bombs or any other deadly weapons to kill people and destroy civilisation. Secondly, when we all Asian peoples and Nations unite and do all these things, we must not and should not have even an iota of selfish motive. Our aim and purpose should not only be to do good to our own peoples and countries but also to work for universal enlightenment and peace, for international amity and harmony, and for human fraternity and brotherhood. In other words, it is for the salvation of the whole world and all mankind.

O, Brethren of Asia ! this is our mission, our duty, our responsibility as well as our privilege. Let us come and join together and start this sacred work !

APPENDIX II

Burma's Message to India

BY

U Ba Lwin

(Delegate to the Asian Relations Conference)

U Ba Lwin, B.A., F.R.C.S., Headmaster and Superintendent, Myoma National Co-Educational High School, Rangoon. Trained at London Day Teachers' Training College. Fellow and formerly member of the Executive Committee of the University of Rangoon. Chief Scout Commissioner, Burma. Member, Education Policy Committee and University Re-Organisation Committee; President, Rama-krishna Mission Society and Rural Reconstruction League and former President, Rangoon Rotary Club. Visited China, India, Ceylon Thailand, Malaya and Philippines on goodwill missions. Director of National Service Bureau during Japanese occupation.

I have great pleasure to give the following message to the people of India through Mr. V. G. Nair, of Santiniketan, Bengal, who has been known to me as an ardent and enthusiastic worker in the cause of Sino-Indian cultural understanding :—

The great Inter-Asian Relations Conference at Delhi has provided us with a unique opportunity to meet and to exchange views as well as to compare notes. All Asian peoples and countries are highly indebted to India for this timely lead. This is my fifth visit to this ancient land of India. I am a confirmed believer in the

unity of Asia because of our spiritual outlook and age-old cultural ties. I have visited India, Ceylon, China, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Philippines and Japan with a view to finding out our common interests, problems, and aims. I find that my own country could serve as a golden link between two very old civilisations and cultures of India and China. Once that is achieved to my way of thinking all Asia will become united. We of the East must look up to the spiritual teachings of our great Teachers for guidance in our sublime mission of bringing together all the nations of the East. We shall then give to the whole world a way of life, a true pattern that will enable mankind to live together in love, peace and harmony.

Sincerity, sacrifice, love, purity, unselfishness and justice should be our watchword. Unity of man should be our religion and with a fighting faith, hope and charity, we must not leave any stone unturned to win our goal. Freedom from fear, freedom from domination, freedom from greed and freedom from hatred are our four freedoms. Live and let live is our charter. Our great religions, traditions and cultures will contribute towards the success of our enterprise, which is full of potentialities. We must have faith in our cause and a large heart. The more we meet the better for all of us. The tragedy in the past has been the unfortunate aloofness—splendid isolation. We were all for self. Our interests were all self-centred. Each for all and

all for each must be our philosophy of life. This is nothing new. It has been the pivot of the teachings of the world teachers. Because we became immersed in material gains, we have been following the shadow rather than the substance. We took the trees for the woods. The time has now arrived that all Asian peoples should shake off their slumber and forge ahead in our noble work.

We should care for our brothers and sisters in Asia and share with each other the good things of life partaking of the spiritual food, our rightful heritage. There must be sympathetic understanding as well as understanding sympathy of our common ailments and ills, which beset the world. It would be fatal if we discard our own way of life. Enmity is not overcome by enmity. Enmity is overcome by love. This philosophy of life has been the greatest contribution to man. World peace could only be brought about by love. No amount of diplomatic negotiations and political strifes will give us eternal and enduring peace. It has been abundantly proved beyond a shadow of doubt that all statesmen and politicians in the history of the world have failed in their repeated attempts to gain peace for us. Their work has been at best patch work because they have not delved deep to probe into the real cause of our sufferings and sorrows.

Let us profit by our past mistakes and failures for failures are but pillars of success. A

completely new orientation is called for and a change of heart and a change of attitude must play a definite part in finding out solutions to all our difficulties and dangers which now face all of us. In a co-operative, constructive and creative spirit we must approach the problem. We must be prepared to give instead of getting from others. We must put in rather than take out. We must create a brave and better world rather than pine for a new world. We must give abundantly to get this new world. There is no use for greed in our new scheme of things. Our great ancestors who have gone before us have left everything for us. They have given up everything for posterity. Lives of great men remind us and we can make our lives sublime. We must not think of an escape from the troubles and tribulations of life. We must play our part courageously and conscientiously. I pray that the peoples and nations of the East may not be misled again but that they will follow the path of purity taught by Lord Buddha many an age before. May there be Peace, Love, Harmony and Happiness is the earnest and devout prayer of

Yours in Love & Peace

2-4-1947.

U. Ba. LWIN

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